

**Among Friends: middle-class Tasmanians  
who moved to New Zealand, 1855-1875**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the movement of middle-class Tasmanians to New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century. This group of people consisted primarily of entrepreneurs who were already crossing the Tasman Sea during the 1850s, and young professional men who left Tasmania in the wake of the Otago gold rush of the early 1860s. Neither ex-convicts nor gold seekers (nor whalers, soldiers, *et al*) are included in this research group – precisely those people who are currently found at the forefront of any discussion about the wider Australian movement into New Zealand during this period.

This thesis takes a qualitative approach; it is the motivations and actions of the individuals concerned that are explored and analysed. Wherever possible first-hand accounts are utilised and it is from these that the thesis is generated. To this end a group of New Zealand-related letters was sourced from the Weston Collection at the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston. The Tasmanians referred to in these letters formed the core sample group for this research. An extended ‘family history’ was prepared for these people which included their interconnections with one another and their experiences both in Tasmania and in New Zealand.

The experiences of this group of Tasmanians were then used to test the late nineteenth century Australia-New Zealand migration hypotheses of Rollo Arnold. Arnold’s framework for defining the movements of Australians to New Zealand (and *vice versa*) included the concepts ‘among friends’, ‘invisibility’ and the ‘perennial interchange’, as well as the belief that a high proportion of Australians travelling to New Zealand during the nineteenth century were attempting to escape from their past.

The stories of these middle-class Tasmanians provide a new lens through which to question perceptions of nineteenth century Australian people movement to New Zealand. The ‘family history’ approach followed during this research, with its accent on studying individual behaviour, has allowed this

thesis to extend the discussion of Tasmanian movement to include return migration and multiple migration – a new approach within the Australia-New Zealand lexicon. While Arnold's concepts remain valid, future discussion must also now include the hitherto unrecognised predominance of native-born colonials, at least among middle-class migrants, as well as the important role played by their unmarried sisters.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would especially like to thank my Supervisory Team. Professor Philippa Mein Smith and Dr Tom Dunning of the History and Classics Program, and Dr Roger Kellaway of the School of Geography and Environmental Studies, have all provided valuable insights during the process of creating this thesis. The History and Classics Program also provided significant support through funding, discussions with my peers, and attendance at and participation in conferences.

I would also like to thank my professional colleagues at the various collecting institutions consulted during this research, most especially the History and Library staff at the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston. A range of other organisations were also accessed for information both in Tasmania and New Zealand, far too numerous to list here. In particular, I received family history insights as well as data from librarians at the Launceston Library (part of the Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office network) and the Hocken Library in Dunedin as well as from all the small museums and family history rooms which I have visited during the course of this research.

I am grateful to those people who went beyond the expected and who provided special access to additional information. This list is by no means comprehensive, but includes among its number: Lloyd Carpenter, Nicholas Clements, Marion Dowsett, David Dudfield, Maureen Martin Ferris, Jenny Gill, Angela and Gus Prosser Green, Kevin Green, Andrew Groom, Kristyn Harman, Alice Hodgson, Anne Jackman, Genice MacAvoy, Angela McCarthy, Lachlan Paterson, Maureen and Guy Powles, Marion Sargent, Peter Sims, Kay Switzer, Harriet Taylor, Angela Wanhalla, and Deborah Wilson.

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## PREFACE

### Devices and definitions

Any thesis which claims to use family history methodology will require some explanation of the various devices used in the text. In addition, between the nineteenth century and the present day there have also been many place name changes in both colonies. This preface will address such possible sources of confusion.

For example, the name 'Tasmania' will be applied to the island and its inhabitants when referring to 1856 and the years that followed. 'Tasmania' was in use from the earliest days of the colony but it was not until 1 January 1856 that the name became fully effective with the *Designation of the Colony Act* of December 1855.<sup>1</sup> Prior to January 1856 the colony will be referred to as 'Van Diemen's Land'. However 'Tasmania' will be used when speaking generally of the colony or Tasmanians when the reference might include both the earlier and later period.

For the purposes of this thesis the names of towns will be rendered in their modern form. To do otherwise could prove problematic for readers unfamiliar with the vagaries of place-naming in the other country. Hobart, for example, was variously 'Hobart Town' and 'Hobarton' before it became 'Hobart'. Place names become even more confusing when it is noted that Gore in New Zealand was once called 'Longford',<sup>2</sup> and that the township of Longford in Tasmania was originally laid out as 'Latour'.<sup>3</sup> Modern usage also means that names such as St Marys will be rendered in their modern form, without an apostrophe.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> T Newman, 'Tasmania, the Name' in A Alexander (ed.), *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, (Hobart, University of Tasmania, 2005), p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 833.

<sup>3</sup> GW Hudson, *Old Longford*, (Western Junction, The Glendessary Press, 1976), p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Van Diemen's Land retains its apostrophe because it is old usage.

The various degrees of Tasmanian-ness have not been differentiated, except where it is necessary to further an argument. Some people were born in another country or on the Australian mainland and arrived as adults, some were brought to Tasmania as children, and others were born on the island. For the purposes of this thesis all are referred to as 'Tasmanians' by virtue of having lived for a time in that colony. After all, some of these people subsequently became New Zealanders, and confusion would reign if all their permutations had to be constantly referred to.

Note that no alteration has been made to spelling or punctuation in the letters themselves. They are quoted as they appear in their handwritten originals. Any emendations are enclosed in square brackets and explanations as to content are footnoted.

One family history convention has been appropriated as a device within the text of this thesis. Family history journals conventionally capitalise surnames, a practice which may appear intrusive at first, but it is something to which the eye quickly adjusts. In this thesis all surnames from the original sample of 79 family names are rendered in capitals, while the surnames of the additional people mentioned in the ancillary data (Kate CLERKE's other correspondence and the 'Mountford Day Book') will be underlined. This has been done to assist the reader, so that it is always clear which family names derive from the primary research group and which are secondary, and which are not part of the Weston Collection at all. Such a device has also kept the thesis writer 'honest'. Any temptation to introduce additional information not relevant to the research group (and there is a lot more information available) has thus been avoided.

Occasionally the original letters did not make it clear which family was being referred to. For example, Eliza ADAMS referred to a 'Miss Pitt' and some effort was made to ascertain which unmarried eldest daughters from which PITT families might be this person. However it was discovered, *via* the wider correspondence and the 'Mountford Day Book', that both the PITTs of Clifton Vale and the family of Captain Francis PITT, Harbour Master for Hobart, were known to the CLERKE family. Hence both PITT families are included in the

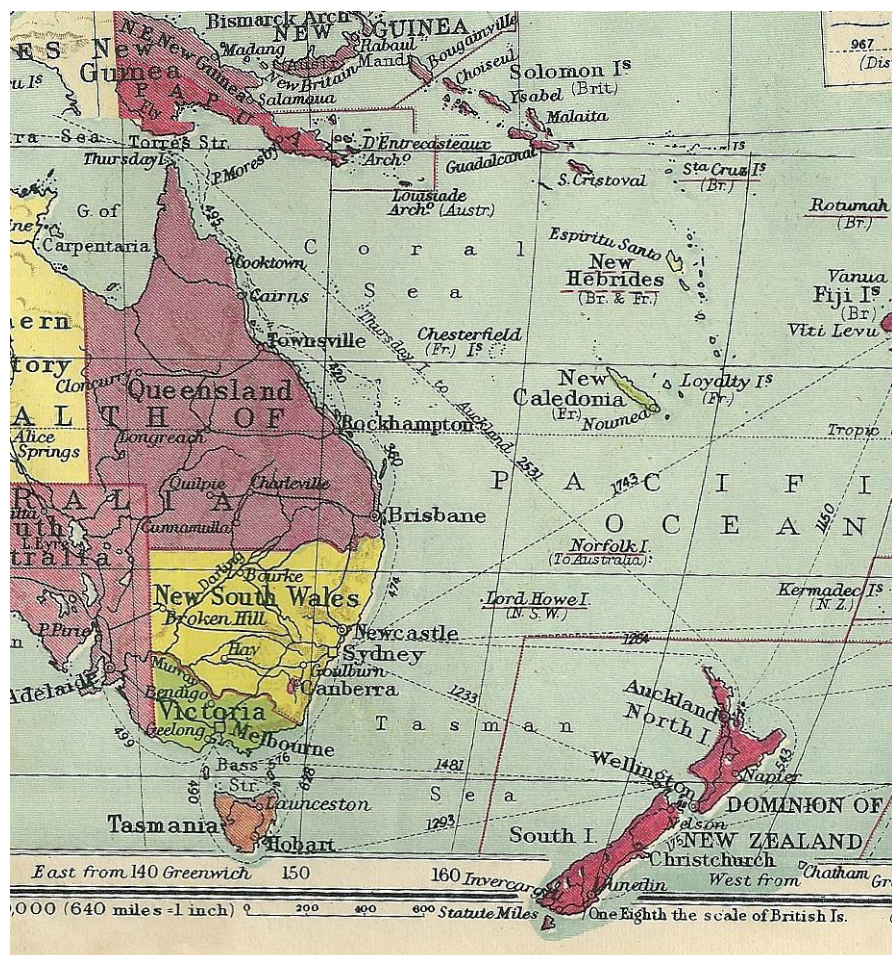
research sample. Similarly, although it is clear that the ‘Mr Dowling’ mentioned by Kate CLERKE’s correspondents was the Launceston producer of their *cartes-de-visite*, the other Tasmanian Dowling family is included in this research. They could not have been omitted anyway. As the children and grandchildren of the Reverend Henry Dowling the family was well known throughout the colony. They were also related to and associated with many other people from the research group (for example, the LORD, Clarke, Crouch, Kermode, PITT, and Lyttleton families) and this is the main reason for including these particular Dowlings. A thesis highlighting the interconnections between people must needs be inclusive rather than exclusive.

Two other minor conventions have been adopted, firstly Home with a capital ‘H’ refers to Britain and ‘home’ to either Tasmania or New Zealand (whichever might be relevant from the context). Secondly, as regards Māori personal names, an attempt has been made to discern each individual’s tribal affiliation so that it can be stated after the name. However, this has not been possible in every case.

The following explanatory notes relate to the footnotes:

- Each publication citation is rendered in full. The use of *ibid.* and *op. cit.* are eschewed. This is the personal preference of the writer who begs to be indulged in this one particular departure from standard usage. In part this is because the writer intends to make this thesis available to family history groups, with access to sources rendered in a simple and more immediate manner than is usually found in academic writing.
- Web site references do not end in the full stop which might otherwise be expected for citations. This is to avoid any confusion that the web address might have contained an additional full stop.
- The first reference given in a footnote relates specifically to the text above. Where additional information is given, with additional references, these second (or third, fourth, etc.) references are enclosed in brackets so that it is clear that they are not the source of the reference or quotation in the text.

**Figure 1: Tasmania and New Zealand, and the eastern seaboard of the Australian mainland**



This map is included merely to orient those who are not from this part of the globe. Tasmanians and New Zealanders are well aware of the relative position of the other, though the names of the principal towns may be of assistance to some.  
 (Philips' *Elementary Atlas of Comparative Geography* (London, George Philip & Son, 1944), p. 31. From a time when Britain and the dominions were still depicted in red.)

## CHAPTER 1

### Literature Review and Methodology

The purpose of this study into the mid-nineteenth century movement of Tasmanians to New Zealand is to assist in filling two gaps currently perceived in Tasmanian historical research. The first comprises a general lack of research into Tasmania's transnational history, especially critical where such a near neighbour is concerned. The second is to begin to redress the gap between the large body of research carried out on the nineteenth century convict population and members of the 'gentry' within the historiography of Tasmania, compared with the lesser amount of academic research into that colony's free middle-class settlers.

This chapter will discuss the existing literature on trans-Tasman people movement. Firstly it will examine the work already available on Australians travelling to New Zealand and secondly it will consider the issue from the narrower perspective of Tasmanians who left their colony during the mid-nineteenth century. The second part of this chapter will discuss the methodology chosen for this research, its issues and the processes decided upon.

#### Literature Review: Australians to New Zealand

Much of the research into the Australia to New Zealand story has been driven by the New Zealand academic Rollo Arnold. Undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s, Arnold's work dealt primarily with Australian migration to New Zealand and arose out of his earlier interest in the movement of British agricultural labourers to New Zealand during the heyday of the 'Vogel Scheme' in the 1870s.<sup>5</sup> Arnold's research was centred squarely on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries so that his time frames occasionally cut across the later edge of the 1855-1875 period of this research.

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<sup>5</sup> R Arnold, *The Furthest Promised Land: English Villagers New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1981). Also, R Arnold, *New Zealand's Burning, The Settlers' World in the Mid 1880s*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1994).

Arnold's time frames aside, it is also worth noting that he perceived Australia as a harsh land dominated by its metropolitan centres which for him, formed a useful contrast to New Zealand's small towns.<sup>6</sup> This is one small comparison put forward by Arnold which does not prove as useful when applied to Tasmania. That colony experienced various shifts towards and away from urbanisation throughout the nineteenth century. By Arnold's period of the 1880s slightly less than 50% of Tasmanians actually lived in cities and the prior decades had seen the majority of that colony's population living on farms and in small townships of less than a hundred people, thus making Tasmania much more akin to New Zealand in this respect.<sup>7</sup>

However, beyond such comparisons, Arnold's work does contain more of value than otherwise to this research project. Arnold explored transnational issues such as the indebtedness of the two countries to each other, stressing also the breadth of class and occupational range contained in this migration – ideas which must also find a place in any study of the earlier period.<sup>8</sup> Arnold ended *The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration* on what was almost a throwaway line: 'Some crossed the Tasman to be among strangers, but more often to be among friends and kin'.<sup>9</sup> It was this line which provided the inspiration for the present work and which has been used in the title.

While there are many interesting side issues within Arnold's *oeuvre*, such as the question of the region's 'Australasian' identity, further details of Arnold's research will not be explored in this chapter.<sup>10</sup> This is simply because the main

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<sup>6</sup> R Arnold, 'The Australasian Peoples and Their World, 1888-1915' in K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988), p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> G Blainey, 'Population Movements in Tasmania, 1870-1901', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 3, no. 4, June 1954, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> R Arnold, 'The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration, 1885-1910', *Australian Economic History Review*, v. 26, 1986, pp. 3, and 11.

<sup>9</sup> R Arnold, 'The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration, 1885-1910', *Australian Economic History Review*, v. 26, 1986, p. 20. Sentiments echoed in, R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991.

<sup>10</sup> Arnold argued that the idea of 'Australasia' was still largely intact until the Federation of Australia in 1901 provided the catalyst for a loss of mutual awareness between Australia and

concepts coined by Arnold for his research into Australia-New Zealand movement, and which are still in use in New Zealand historiography today, are instead embedded firmly within the main body of this thesis.

Current post-Arnold scholarship into the Australia-New Zealand story can be divided into two camps – the broad sweep and the narrower event-driven focus. New Zealand's James Belich in his large scale histories, such as the most recent *Replenishing the Earth*, might include New Zealand and Australia in his schema but they are mere bit players in a sweeping transnational panorama.<sup>11</sup> Even when an individual colony like Tasmania receives special mention it is not Belich's purpose to separate Tasmania out and discuss how it may or may not have influenced life in New Zealand, beyond perhaps Tasmania's use in showcasing the penal colony that New Zealand did not wish to become. Similarly in *Making Peoples* 'Tasmen' were people who crossed the Tasman Sea without any special differentiation, the term coined to demonstrate that during the early nineteenth century any 'distinction between Australia and New Zealand was artificial'.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless in *Replenishing the Earth*, Belich's boom-to-bust-export-recovery model supplies some interesting background concepts such as the inclusion of a third group into booming settler societies, which for Belich comprised farmers, townsfolk, and the largely male 'crews' (chapter 5). The latter disappeared whenever the booms ended.<sup>13</sup> Such ideas are of interest as yet another possible effect to analyse when determining where to place middle-class Tasmanian settlers within New Zealand's emigration history.

Another recent work, also on a transnational theme, is Tony Ballantyne's *Webs of Empire* which has much to offer to the debate of this thesis, most notably

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New Zealand. R Arnold, 'The Australasian Peoples and Their World, 1888-1915', in K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988), pp. 52-53. See also, R Arnold, 'Some Australasian Aspects of New Zealand Life, 1890-1913', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 4, no. 1, April 1970.

<sup>11</sup> J Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 132.

<sup>13</sup> J Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 548-549.



through the notion of 'webs' themselves.<sup>14</sup> Ballantyne stresses the importance of pursuing the history of connections away from the primacy of the nation, along with the ways in which a nation can be made and remade through these connections.<sup>15</sup> For Ballantyne the British Empire was a web with all the cultural traffic that implies.<sup>16</sup> His use of the concept of 'horizontal' connections or linkages has some resonance – what he defines as 'the networks and exchanges that fashioned new forms of interdependence *between* colonies'.<sup>17</sup> Such concepts form a backdrop to this thesis which instead opts for an analysis of personal stories within the transnational frame (which is not to say that the economic, political and big-events life of colonies such as Tasmania and New Zealand are not of importance to the personal experience). Ballantyne is also pleasingly one who avoids dwelling on the 'convict stain' when describing early trans-Tasman whalers and sealers. This refrain is amply covered in other recent works, such as Matthew Wright's populist *Convicts: New Zealand's Hidden Criminal Past*.<sup>18</sup>

Other publications which directly explore the impact of Australians on New Zealand such as *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*<sup>19</sup> and *Remaking the Tasman World*<sup>20</sup> contain papers which are mostly outside the date range of this thesis in many of their themes; though not, of course, in their underlying theories and references to the more distant past, including their continuing interest in Arnold's concept of the 'perennial interchange'. Such works are also compilations of papers and therefore more episodic in their presentation than the publications of Belich and Ballantyne's *Webs of Empire* (though this latter is also a compilation of sorts).

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<sup>14</sup> T Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> T Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012), p. 294.

<sup>16</sup> T Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012), pp. 14-15.

<sup>17</sup> T Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012), p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> M Wright, *Convicts: New Zealand's Hidden Criminal Past*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2012).

<sup>19</sup> K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> P Mein Smith, P Hempenstall and S Goldfinch, *Remaking the Tasman World*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2008).

*Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988* and *Remaking the Tasman World* represent the other side of Australia-New Zealand history writing, that of the narrower focus which hinges on events-driven research. Analysing the Australian Federation of 1901 in relation to New Zealand, or the ethos of ANZAC that developed from the shared Gallipoli experience of 1915, are valuable to the Australia-New Zealand story, but again they are not holistic in their outlook and as already stated above are outside the time frame of this thesis.

Beyond *Remaking the Tasman World*, Mein Smith's work does include other helpful papers such as her reminder-piece: 'New Zealand Federation Commissioners in Australia: One Past, Two Historiographies'.<sup>21</sup> This paper not only provides a framework for looking at issues such as 'Australasia' and 'national identity' but also covers an event relating to a member of this research sample, the Commission's chairman, Albert PITT. Also not to be overlooked is the research of Australian writers such as Donald Denoon. His 'Re-Membering Australasia' where he claims that not only New Zealand but also Tasmania was written out of 'Australian' popular culture around the time of Federation<sup>22</sup> raises the existence of other deeper connections between the two island colonies.

A thesis such as this with its emphasis on personal motivations and experiences, must also cast its net wider than pure academic research into the history of Australia and New Zealand as neighbouring colonies. For example, Patricia Clarke's *The Governesses*,<sup>23</sup> with its faultlessly edited correspondence of English women who emigrated to Australia and New Zealand in search of better paid teaching positions, also contains much that is valuable. This work demonstrates another way in which the voice of the individual can be allowed to speak as well as offering complementary discussions on the period. *The*

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<sup>21</sup> That is, a reminder to Federation researchers that the records of the New Zealand Federation Commission's 1901 visit to Australia (including Tasmania) are freely available for research. P Mein Smith, 'New Zealand Federation Commissioners in Australia: One Past, Two Historiographies', *Australian Historical Studies*, v. 24, issue 122, October 2003, pp. 305-325.

<sup>22</sup> D Denoon, 'Re-Membering Australasia', *Australian Historical Studies*, v. 34, issue 122, October 2003, p. 298.

<sup>23</sup> P Clarke, *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies 1862-1882*, (Melbourne, Hutchinson, 1985).

*Governesses* is also of interest because another of the subjects from the research group for this thesis, the ORD family of Puerua, has been discovered amongst its pages less than a year before the ORDs were visited by the Tasmanian letter writer Eliza ADAMS.

### Literature Review: Tasmanians to New Zealand

By narrowing the focus down onto the existing literature on Tasmanian movement to New Zealand, the paucity of academically researched material becomes especially marked. Arnold did reference Tasmania as a case study in 'Australasian Peoples and Their World'.<sup>24</sup> However the time frame for that paper was firmly 1888-1915 and the migration flows under discussion remained focussed on Australia as a whole. As a case study Tasmania was not used to any particular effect. It was merely an example of the forces in play at that time. For Arnold Tasmania remained an exporter of 'convict stock' before his paper turned back to the theme of Australia and New Zealand and the mutual impact of trade unionism.<sup>25</sup> New Zealand's awareness of Tasmanians other than as convicts is, thus far, negligible in relation to their study of Australians *en masse* and their other nineteenth century migrants such as the Scots, the English and the Irish.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> R Arnold, 'The Australasian Peoples and Their World, 1888-1915' in K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988). Note, Farmer's three volume PhD thesis, *The Geography of Migration in Tasmania, 1921-1961*, cited by Arnold, is too far removed from the chronology of this study to warrant consideration. The background to its starting point of 1921 is summarily dealt with in the introduction and refers to the discovery of gold in 1851 stimulating a Tasmanian exodus to Victoria before jumping twenty years to the statement that 'by 1870 it had become almost traditional for the young and the vigorous to seek their fortunes outside the Colony'. Tasmania's economically bad years of the early 1860s and the New Zealand gold rushes are not mentioned at all. R Farmer, *The Geography of Migration in Tasmania, 1921-1961*, (PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 1968), p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> R Arnold, 'The Australasian Peoples and Their World, 1888-1915' in K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations: New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988), p. 54. Note that Arnold's earlier 'Dynamics of the Invisible' also made occasional reference to Tasmania, but only in the early twentieth century. R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler), *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983).

<sup>26</sup> As seen in recent works: L Fraser and A McCarthy (eds.), *Far from 'Home': The English in New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2012). Also, B Patterson, T Brooking and J McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2014).

New Zealand's study on the 1860s, especially as it relates to the South Island, has also tended to focus on that island's gold rushes as the major cause of emigration during this period and in particular the importance of miners from Victoria.<sup>27</sup> This negates much of the contribution of Tasmanians, as will become evident as this thesis progresses. It is now clear that New Zealand has a hitherto unrecognised 'Tasmanian story' in its past and this thesis will attempt to bring that story to the fore.

Tasmanian-generated history which discusses migration mostly concentrates on movement towards Tasmania, rather than on those people who subsequently left; for instance the Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies' 2005 compilation, *Migration: Making Tasmania home?*<sup>28</sup> This is not surprising given the wealth of detail still untapped in the convict records, regardless of all the free arrivals to Tasmania whose stories are now also more readily accessible through early Australian newspapers on-line and the efforts of family historians.

What happened within the lives of free Tasmanians, both immediately before and after the end of transportation in 1853, has tended to appear in individual biographies and the histories of non-penal institutions such as Beever's *Launceston Bank for Savings 1835-1970*, Petrow's *Going to the Mechanics*, and Alexander's history of the law firm, Dobson Mitchell and Allport, to name but a few publications of this type consulted during the preparation of this work.<sup>29</sup> The biographies of individual members of the Tasmanian middle class are most prolific at the non-academic end of history writing, compiled and often self-published by Tasmanian family historians who have been unfortunate enough to suffer the omission of a convict forebear on their family tree.

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<sup>27</sup> Even though it was claimed recently that the Otago gold rush has 'not received the level of academic scrutiny ... accorded to similar events in Australia'. L Carpenter, 'Reveiled in the Record: Thomas Logan, and origins of the Cromwell Quartz Mining Company, Bendigo, Otago', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, v. 9, September 2011, p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> A Alexander (ed.), *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, v. 10, 2005.

<sup>29</sup> EA Beever, *Launceston Bank for Savings 1835-1970: A History of Australia's Oldest Savings Bank*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1972). S Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics: A History of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute 1842-1914*, (Tasmania, Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania, 1998). A Alexander, *Yours very truly: Dobson Mitchell & Allport 1834-2009*, (Hobart, Artemis Publishing Consultants, 2009).

To date Tasmanian research into the people who left this colony has been concerned to a large degree with the Tasmanian foundation of Melbourne during the 1830s and the subsequent 1850s exodus to the Victorian gold rushes.<sup>30</sup> Apart from celebrating Tasmania's pivotal role in the development of Victoria, the focus of such research has tended to be economic – as in the reasons why it was necessary to expand across Bass Strait in the first place, and the effect on the Tasmanian economy when that colony's working men left for the gold rushes. The interest has primarily been the effect that this had on Tasmania. Bolger, for example, argues that for decades afterwards the Victorian gold rush shaped Tasmania.<sup>31</sup>

There are of course occasional exceptions such as those academics dealing with specific events in Tasmanian history, for example Jeff Hopkins-Weise's papers on Tasmanian participation in the New Zealand wars.<sup>32</sup> These papers are also useful for the additional material they provide on the ambience of the 1840s-1860s though the Tasmanians discussed in this thesis were not soldiers *per se*. On the whole Tasmanian academics have not written a great deal about New Zealand. New Zealand stories might be included in research such as Kristyn Harman's *Aboriginal Convicts*<sup>33</sup> or Penny Edmond's current work on Quakers in the Pacific, but the Tasmania-New Zealand story is either missing or peripheral to the main thrust of their argument.

By far the greatest output on purely Tasmania-New Zealand historical issues has been that of the Tasmanian historical geographer Roger Kellaway, with at least three published papers specifically covering the period of this thesis.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> For the 1830s in particular, see J Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011).

<sup>31</sup> For a chapter full of developments, see P Bolger, *Hobart Town*, (Canberra, ANU Press, 1973), chapter 5, pp. 67-87.

<sup>32</sup> J Hopkins-Weise, 'Van Diemen's Land and the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 50, no. 1, March 2003. J Hopkins-Weise, 'Tasmania and the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 50, no. 3, September 2003.

<sup>33</sup> K Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan and Maori Exiles*, (Sydney, UNSW Press, 2012).

<sup>34</sup> R Kellaway, 'New Zealand War Refugees and the Settlement of South West Tasmania', *New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 19*, (Massey University, 1997). R

Kellaway's conference papers abound with subtle humour at the political vagaries of two small island communities at the bottom of the world, which at the same time point to mutual concerns of the day. Like Arnold, Kellaway is also interested in exploring the motives of the people involved.

'New Zealand War Refugees and the Settlement of South West Tasmania' and 'Immigration from New Zealand: The Tasmanian Select Committee of 1864', deal with the possibility (unrealised) that New Zealanders might instead be encouraged to move westwards into Tasmania. Whereas 'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush'<sup>35</sup> engages with the loss of Tasmanian population as a result of the 1861-1865 gold rushes to New Zealand and finally makes up for the lack of any mention of this phenomenon in other Tasmanian publications on local migration and immigration.<sup>36</sup>

'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush' deals with the Tasmanian response to a situation begun by one of their own, the prospector Gabriel Read, and contains much relevant information from the Tasmanian perspective.<sup>37</sup> While no gold miners have been discovered in the group researched for this study, Kellaway's work provides an extremely useful interpretation, complete with statistical analysis, as to what was happening between the two colonies during the early 1860s. For example, Kellaway discusses the number of Tasmanians who left the colony between 1861-1865 along with perceptions of Tasmanian attitudes and abilities.<sup>38</sup> This paper also delves into the nature of Tasmanian 'success' as well as the export trade between Tasmania and New Zealand's south and

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Kellaway, 'Immigration from New Zealand: The Tasmanian Select Committee of 1864', *New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 20*, (Hamilton, New Zealand Geographical Society, 1999). R Kellaway, 'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush 1861-1865', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 46, no. 4, December 1999.

<sup>35</sup> R Kellaway, 'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush 1861-1865', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 46, no. 4, December 1999.

<sup>36</sup> For example, WA Townsley, 'Tasmania and the Great Economic Depression, 1858-1872', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 4, no. 2, July 1955. Also, G Blainey, 'Population Movements in Tasmania, 1870-1901', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 3, no. 4, June 1954.

<sup>37</sup> For Read, see TJ Hearn, 'Read, Thomas Gabriel 1824-26?-1894', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

<sup>38</sup> Suggesting that 'one person in twenty ... left the colony'. R Kellaway, 'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush 1861-1865', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 46, no. 4, December 1999, p. 219.

the permanency or otherwise of this gold rush 'migration'. Kellaway provides tantalising hints at the cornerstone of this paper – that for many the Otago gold rush was merely a catalyst and that Tasmanians were perhaps more than ready to leave their colony for a myriad of other reasons. Kellaway's later papers (listed in the bibliography) also contain pertinent insights though they discuss the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and a New Zealand people movement towards Tasmania, and concentrate on Kellaway's special interest in the history of extractive industries.

While the research of Kellaway and Hopkins-Weise prevent there being a total dearth of work into Tasmania-New Zealand people movement, there are still no major publications focussed specifically on the relationship between Tasmania and New Zealand. Further research is therefore required to adequately cover this particular connection, one of the many possible transnational relationships predicated on an erstwhile 'Australasia'.

There is one published work that does consider Tasmania-New Zealand people movement, though it is not an academic study. *Finding Connections* by the London-based writer PJ Kavanagh fits neatly with the spirit of this study and its methodological focus. Kavanagh uses his family's history as a quest, which inspires him to travel to Tasmania and New Zealand and to posit questions on the nature of his 'Irishness' and Catholicism. Part travelogue and partly a personal journey of discovery, Kavanagh comes to one general and fairly obvious conclusion, that people did not go to New Zealand from Tasmania for religious or political reasons, instead 'they had come to better themselves'.<sup>39</sup> As a family history this work contains the story of individuals whose experiences are claimed by the author as having some bearing on his own, and the book lives and breathes Bolger's maxim that history is 'about people'.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> PJ Kavanagh, *Finding Connections*, (London, Hutchinson, 1990), p. 147.

<sup>40</sup> As opposed to people as numbers. P Bolger, 'Figures and Bodies: A Demography of Tasmania at Independence', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 23, no. 1, March 1976, p. 2.

### Methodology: issues

This research project began with the idea that it would be possible to research Tasmanians who went to New Zealand, and New Zealanders who settled in Tasmania, across the entirety of the nineteenth century. This interest was originally piqued by noticing the phrase ‘New Zealand papers please copy’ in the births, deaths, and marriages columns of nineteenth century Tasmanian newspapers, along with a developing understanding that there had previously existed strong personal interconnections between the two places. It was soon discovered that this was too vast a project for a thesis. Within that one hundred year period there were just far too many people who had crossed the Tasman and it became necessary to reduce the size of the study.

The other imperative for this research was a strong desire to write social history from the experience of individual people using, if possible, their own first-hand writings as well as other accounts and reports written about them at the time. Expanded, this developed into a desire to utilise the mechanics of family history research and to discover whether this might provide the raw material from which to tease patterns of intention and motivation which would say something new about cross-Tasman movement.

The mechanics of family history research and writing have, in the past, been quite different from that of academic social historians. The ‘rules’ and ‘standard methodological problems’ contained in works of quantitative social history theory were seen as a world away from the personalised qualitative approach of family history research.<sup>41</sup> That said, the gap between old style family history and modern social history is no longer as wide as it once was. For academic historians this statement may require some further explanation of the evolving nature of family history.<sup>42</sup> Family history practice has come a long way in Australia since the 1950s when Launceston’s Lavinia WHITEFELD compiled her own tree and then went into business as a family history researcher. At that

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<sup>41</sup> For example, M Fairburn, *Social History: problems, strategies + methods*, (New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1999), p. 12 ff.

<sup>42</sup> For a less Australia-centric discussion on these changes see, RL Miller, *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories*, (London, Sage Publications, 2000). Local history research also offers much to this project; see also, GM Hibbins, C Fahey and MR Askew, *Local History: A Handbook for Enthusiasts*, (Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1985).



time family history was very much about 'genealogy' which meant compiling one's pedigree into a family tree. The emphasis was also still firmly fixed on Britain with the ever present hope that a peer of the realm might be discovered amongst one's ancestors. WHITFELD and her generation still felt it was desirable to establish one's ties to Britain. Doubtless she was aware of the experience of her father Ernest WHITFELD who, with a surname that looked vaguely German, had had to go to some lengths during World War 1 to prove that he was of good British stock.<sup>43</sup>

The focus on Britain changed as the 1960s became the 1970s and Australian family history interests began to look inwards.<sup>44</sup> It was only then that locating a convict on the family tree became a symbol of one's Australianness and instantly conferred on the descendant a closer and deeper relationship with their nation's history. In Tasmania family knowledge of convicts-past has reached such heights that in 2010 Alexander could confidently state (and demonstrate) that any room full of Tasmanian residents who were aware of their family history, would show around 75% of the total number with a convict ancestor.<sup>45</sup>

As the 1970s wore on and family trees had grown replete with names and dates those who had been 'genealogists' metamorphosed into 'family historians'; a shift finally reflected in the change in name from the Tasmanian Genealogical Society into the Tasmanian Family History Society in 2000.<sup>46</sup> Once the names and dates were set in stone genealogists turned to context – how did their people fit into the times and places of Australian history? This trend dovetailed neatly with the rise in academic publications on social history with their exploration into, and the quantification of, the 'little people' of history,

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<sup>43</sup> Ernest Whitfeld to Department of Defence, 1914. Whitfeld Papers, Fisher Library, University of Sydney.

<sup>44</sup> For references to this refocussing in terms of convict ancestry see chapter 14, 'Out in the Open' in A Alexander, *Tasmania's Convicts: How Felons Built a Free Society*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2010), pp. 251-256. For comments regarding the accuracy or otherwise of family history see p. 255.

<sup>45</sup> A Alexander, *Tasmania's Convicts: How Felons Built a Free Society*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2010), p. 261. This was more than adequately demonstrated during a paper presented to the Launceston Historical Society by Alexander in 2010.

<sup>46</sup> Tasmanian Family History Society. [www.tfhs.org](http://www.tfhs.org)

the working men and women from whom most Australians and New Zealanders are descended.

Thus family history today is no longer 'genealogy'. It is now firmly in the social history camp, which brings specific issues to the fore. Social history writing of the family history type is often problematic. Its qualitative bent can lack the rigour of quantitative social history. It has a tendency to become driven by its biographical nature and to lose contact with what else might have been happening in society at the same time. In short, it can miss the context it is seeking to capture. Nevertheless family history exponents, especially the authors of books on the subject, define family history as so much more than 'self-consciously about people' and have instead come to prefer definitions which are all-inclusive: 'a combination of family, people, locality, municipality, region, national and even international perspectives'.<sup>47</sup> Yet the question still remains as to how the mechanics of family history research and writing might be turned to good effect in a work such as this which seeks to look at transnational people movement on a different scale?

It is undeniable that the scale of the available research material has been augmented significantly because of family historians. When Arnold was researching during the 1980s he found that the data available for the Australian influx into New Zealand exhibited both a 'paucity and poor quality'. At that time he was forced to rely to a large extent on governmental statistical data: records such as the census, births deaths and marriages, and shipping lists. This is not to say that research from this period is not interesting and useful. Research like Arnold's created the platform on which current research can continue to build.

By the early twenty-first century the groundswell of interest in compiling genealogies (and its subsequent development into a form of personalised social history writing) has led to a corresponding broadening in archival collecting and, most recently, the availability of historic newspapers on-line in both countries. Consequently there is now an ease of access to data which had

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<sup>47</sup> N Kyle and R King, *The Family History Writing Book*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1993), p. 3.

been largely inaccessible to Arnold. Added to the growing array of material provided by archives, are the records created by family historians themselves. Vast reams of lists and indexes are now available on-line and in genealogical and historical society libraries, along with manuscripts and publications relating to both local history and the histories of their own individual families.<sup>48</sup> Such an array of possible research material has allowed social history to raise its sights, rather overwhelming it in the process so that now: 'There is probably no other field whose primary resources are so varied, so widely dispersed, and so uneven in quality'.<sup>49</sup>

It is the 'unreliable' nature of the primary records of family historians that have been perceived as the fundamental stumbling block to writing definitive history about people as opposed to, for example, the history of political, economic and military events. Sociologists might view family 'life stories' as 'wanting when measured against criteria of reliability and validity' and therefore seen as mere insights, 'sources for possible hypotheses before the formulation of "real" objective research'.<sup>50</sup> For historians the reality is more complicated. Biography is the stock-in-trade of historians and while the first-hand material available *via* family history researchers (family memory, oral histories, diaries, letters, newspaper reports and obituaries) can be difficult to assess for veracity, it is nonetheless what we have to work with.

Not all academic disciplines are fazed by this concern. It can be argued that in Tasmania family history research has become a force to be reckoned with, often in areas other than history, such as sociological and medical research. Tasmania is regularly in the media for medical research projects, such as that into glaucoma, simply because early administrative records, coupled with the

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<sup>48</sup> It is also worth noting that many local histories, especially those produced before 1950, are now virtually first-hand accounts themselves. Works such as the 1930s Otago books of R Gilkison and LGD Acland's *The Early Canterbury Runs* (1946), despite their assumptions and inaccuracies, are invaluable, simply because these authors were able to speak directly with many of the people who had lived through the mid-late nineteenth century. This is the reason why many of these local histories were consulted for this project and are listed in the bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> J Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, (London, Longman, 1991), p. 100.

<sup>50</sup> B Roberts, 'Biographical Research', (Open University Press series, *Understanding Social Research*, 2002), p. 6.

ability of family history research to gather together a wide sample of related people, can provide medical researchers with a conveniently large research group covering several generations.<sup>51</sup>

The tide has changed to such an extent that a history academic can now state confidently that she is bemused by 'the ways in which academic and family historians are categorized as different'. Tanya Evans goes on to state that:

Family history has until recently received little serious attention from professional and academic historians in Australia, despite being one of the strongest cultural industries there for the past thirty years and stronger indeed than in any other country.<sup>52</sup>

In New Zealand historians have used, for some time, the methodology of family history research to good effect. Melanie Nolan's *Kin* most obviously springs to mind, as a means to exploring the politics of working class New Zealanders.<sup>53</sup> Angela Wanhalla also, with her subtle use of family history, by way of interviews, photographs and letters in particular, demonstrates admirably how such resources can be utilised without her research being labelled as purely 'family history' in nature.<sup>54</sup> The lead taken by academics such as these has provided further inspiration for this project. They have demonstrated that the question of reliability (or otherwise) as it relates to family history sources, is not the whole story. It is how the material is interpreted that is important.

Interpretation is the key to modern social history writing. Social historians are no longer so naive as to believe that they can write a definitive work 'for all time'. The old definitions of history are too limiting for the twenty-first century. Today's history is not bound by its dictionary meaning of a mere 'systematic account of

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<sup>51</sup> For example, 'Clues to illness in old Tassie family', *Examiner*, 18 October 1998, p. 5.

<sup>52</sup> T Evans, 'Secrets and Lies: the Radical Potential of Family History', *History Workshop Journal*, issue 71, 2011, p. 49.

<sup>53</sup> M Nolan, *Kin: A collective biography of a New Zealand working-class family*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2005).

<sup>54</sup> A Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2009). A Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2013).

the origin and progress of ... a nation, an institution, etc.'.<sup>55</sup> Instead, social historians understand that what they write today does no more than form the building blocks for future interpreters. So long as the first-hand sources are checked and rechecked against other sources, and so long as the researcher exhibits integrity and sensitivity towards their material and the decisions they make concerning it, then the ensuing interpretation will stand as a relevant and valid piece of history. As Arnold himself exhorted almost twenty-five years ago:

We must be careful not to manipulate the settlers as mere names and statistics. We should listen for their hopes and fears, their achievements and mischances, and try to uncover the ever-changing dynamics and interconnections of their communities.<sup>56</sup>

This research project seeks to demonstrate that there is a reality to be found in first-hand accounts from the time, as well as in the sources used and compiled by family historians. All of which can be fed into extrapolating motivation – and from there into looking for patterns of behaviour within an interconnected group of people.

It has been suggested that this project might also fit under the *aegis* of 'transnational history'. There is some merit in this suggestion, not least because the many definitions of 'transnational' prove as all-encompassing as any writer could wish for.<sup>57</sup> One such example includes: 'a combination of civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social networks and cultural identities that links people and institutions in two or more nation-states in diverse multi-layered patterns'.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> W Geddie (ed.), *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary*, (revised edition, 1965).

<sup>56</sup> R Arnold, 'Community in Rural Victorian New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24, 1, April 1990, pp. 3-21, cited in JR Rogers, 'A Little Corner of Ulster in New Zealand: The Katikati Special Settlement 1875-1900', (MA dissertation, University of Auckland, 1998). [www.katikati.co.nz](http://www.katikati.co.nz)

<sup>57</sup> Transnationalism's 'diversity of approaches' was its initial attraction. S Macdonald, 'Transnational history: a review of past and present scholarship', p. 1. [http://www.ucl.ac.uk/cth/objectives/simon\\_macdonald\\_tns\\_review](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/cth/objectives/simon_macdonald_tns_review)

<sup>58</sup> L Fraser and S Dwyer, "When rolling seas shall no longer divide us": Transnationalism and the Local Geographies of Ulster Protestant Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Canterbury', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 43, no. 2, October 2009, p. 193.

For this thesis the most useful of the definitions of transnational history located thus far is Mein Smith's neat analysis of the difference between 'comparative' histories of national identity and 'transnational' history in her paper on the New Zealand Federation Commission. Namely that, 'comparative history usually involves ... an emphasis on differences between nations,<sup>59</sup> whereas transnational history is concerned with questions of interdependence and interaction'.<sup>60</sup>

This research is primarily interested in the movement of people from one colony to another at a time when formal definitions of either place as a 'nation state' are premature and to some extent irrelevant. This research has little interest in Tasmania and New Zealand as formal colonial institutions and is not concerned with comparing the two places at that level. Secondly, this research seeks to concentrate on the individual and the connections between individual people, the 'among friends' of the title. In this case 'comparisons are odious'. It is the teasing out of similarities between the motivations and actions of individuals, and thereby ascertaining patterns of experience for one group of people moving from one place to another, that is the focus of this thesis.

Questions of the existence of two or more nation-states as necessary for any definition of 'transnational' are thus irrelevant to this work.<sup>61</sup> Such a definition also becomes snarled on discussions around the nature of nation states in the pre-1914 world (or, for Australia, the pre-1901 world) when 'nations' as we now know them did not exist.<sup>62</sup> Certainly for this research the nature of Tasmania and New Zealand as political entities is not explored; instead, each colony is merely the *milieu* in which individual people function.

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<sup>59</sup> And/or 'the difference between two national histories': JGA Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 17.

<sup>60</sup> P Mein Smith, 'New Zealand Federation Commissioners in Australia: One Past, Two Historiographies', *Australian Historical Studies*, v. 24, issue 122, October 2003, p. 307.

<sup>61</sup> Though Byrnes also discusses 'the impulse to eschew the nation-state as the principle category of analysis' along with the emphasis on globalisation. G Byrnes, 'Nation and Migration: Postcolonial Perspectives', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 43, no. 2, October 2009, pp. 125-126.

<sup>62</sup> However Macdonald argues that the descriptor 'transnational' can be of value for studying the past even where the term may seem anachronistic. S Macdonald, 'Transnational history: a review of past and present scholarship', p. 17.  
[http://www.ucl.ac.uk/cth/objectives/simon\\_macdonald\\_tns\\_review](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/cth/objectives/simon_macdonald_tns_review)

The other major descriptor for 'transnational history', eschewed by Mein Smith, is as comparative history.<sup>63</sup> This part of the definition raises even more debate than the issue of nation states. Transnational history for some can be seen as too comparative, as well as being overly global or political, and sometimes even more about geography than the historical connections between people of different places.<sup>64</sup>

Instead it is other concepts within the debate on transnational history which resonate. For example, Pocock's highlighting of the issues of identity for migrants who are descended from migrants who have moved again and again is one such variation on the theme, along with any struggle in the mind between 'Home' and 'home' in a place where ultimately the majority of inhabitants can be classed as migrants.<sup>65</sup> This question is not immediately applicable to this short exploration of the period 1855-1875, but it might well prove to be applicable across a multi-generational study of the same people.

In terms of transnational definitions, this thesis is closer in spirit to 'local' rather than 'transnational' history. There is no denigration implied in the use of the term local. For discussions on colonies so close, both geographically and in their settlement and social *mores*, the trans-Tasman story does warrant a newer term. 'Translocal' might therefore fit rather more snugly with the methodological focus of this thesis than 'transnational'.

### Methodology: process

As mentioned earlier the initial theme chosen for this research proved too large for the scope of this project. At the same time as that realisation, a partially catalogued collection of 37 letters from Tasmania and New Zealand was located in the Weston Collection held by the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery in Launceston. The letters had been written by Eliza ADAMS to her best

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<sup>63</sup> S Macdonald, 'Transnational history: a review of past and present scholarship', p. 5. [http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ctth/objectives/simon\\_macdonald\\_tns\\_review](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ctth/objectives/simon_macdonald_tns_review)

<sup>64</sup> 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', *American Historical Review*, v. 111, issue 5. [www.history.cooperative.org/journals/ahr](http://www.history.cooperative.org/journals/ahr)

<sup>65</sup> JGA Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 12, p. 15, and p. 19.

friend, Kate CLERKE between 1858 and 1866. Until 1865 both young women lived on neighbouring properties outside the town of Longford in Northern Tasmania. In May 1865 Eliza ADAMS left Tasmania for New Zealand. Subsequent searches through the remainder of the Weston Collection produced another seven letters from Eliza ADAMS written from New Zealand (the last dated 1880), as well as a further 27 letters from various other writers in which Eliza and her family were mentioned. As the Tasmanian educator and local historian John Rowland Skemp noted in the preface to his correspondence-based family history: 'Age itself ... is no criterion of worth; but piecing them together in chronological order, I found that these old letters and documents contained a story'.<sup>66</sup>



**Figure 2:** The first group of 37 letters written by Eliza ADAMS c.1858-1866, bundled together haphazardly and sewn along one edge. (CHS47 2/42, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston.)

None of the letters retained by Kate CLERKE had been studied before.<sup>67</sup> In particular, the significant New Zealand content of the letters penned by Eliza

<sup>66</sup> JR Skemp (ed.), *Letters to Anne: The story of a Tasmanian family told in letters written to Anne Elizabeth Lovell (Mrs Thomas Kearney) by her brothers, sister and other relatives during the years 1846-1872*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1956), p. xii.

<sup>67</sup> However while undertaking this research, a transcription of Eliza Adams' letters was provided to the museum and a short quotation from one of these letters was included in a recent council-commissioned local centennial history. N Haygarth, *The Norfolk Plains: A History of Longford*,



ADAMS had been hitherto unsuspected. Eliza's letters were transcribed as part of this research and, after a search of New Zealand archival sources for her subsequent career, the value of these letters was recognised as the personal record of a trans-Tasman experience.<sup>68</sup>

The decision then had to be made as to how best to use this resource. What was soon realised after a little further research was that many of the people referred to in Eliza ADAMS' letters also had a Tasmania-New Zealand story of their own. A search through the remainder of the Weston Collection discovered that these people were also mentioned in other correspondence kept by Kate CLERKE, which resulted in many more letters being transcribed. At the same time the museum's archive yielded the 'Mountford Day Book' which covers the period 1852-1862.<sup>69</sup> This comprehensive record of daily life on the CLERKES' large farming property contains dates, the comings and goings of family members, names of visitors, events such as balls, weddings and the local shows, named individual servants and farming activities, sales of livestock and produce, politics, weather, accidents, ship names, cargoes and destinations. It is a useful check against the earlier letters retained by Kate CLERKE and also corroborates and expands data from other sources. The 'Mountford Day Book' book also contains a strong New Zealand component of its own.

A collection of names was slowly compiled. In Eliza ADAMS' letters 79 family names were recorded. In the wider correspondence of Kate CLERKE and in the 'Mountford Day Book', a further 298 surnames appear.<sup>70</sup> It was decided to research all these family groups with the focus squarely on the first 79 names mentioned by Eliza ADAMS. This, it was hoped, would provide a manageable sample for collecting data with the possible inclusion of extra names from the second collection of letters and the 'Mountford Day Book' should the need arise. What soon became clear was the intricate degree of interconnectedness

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*Cressy, Perth and Bishopsbourne, Tasmania*, (Longford, Northern Midlands Council, 2013), p. 85.

<sup>68</sup> These transcripts are held by the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston.

<sup>69</sup> 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020.

<sup>70</sup> That is, 417 names in total from the second group of letters and from the 'Mountford Day Book', reduced to 298 once all the duplications were removed.

between all the people in the two groups of names. It was going to prove impossible to keep the groups neatly separated.

Various ways of collecting data were canvassed. A prosopographical approach was first trialled for this research in an attempt to produce quantitative data suitable for analysis:

A prosopological project is defined as comprising four parts. The first discusses the research questions. The second provides the prosopography, an alphabetical list of each person in the 'chosen collective' with biographical details reflecting fields contained in the researcher's questionnaire. This is followed by an analysis of the prosopography and a summary of the conclusions drawn.<sup>71</sup>

Prosopography databases are appropriate for data which by its nature already lends itself to quantification – records such as births, deaths and marriages, shipping lists, the numbers of accompanying siblings, and so on.

Prosopography does not prove as useful for research into personal experience and motivation. Possible motives for leaving home, such as the death of a parent, can be tabulated but the database could not cope with all the variations reflected within each individual experience of such an event.

While most cross-Tasman experiences fitted into a general scenario, at the same time they were also too diverse in their minutiae to be counted in a meaningful way, predicated as they were on the details of an individual's situation and personality. Neither could a tabulated database do justice to the degree of interconnectedness between these people, a feature of these Tasmanians that became apparent very early in this project. Prosopography

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<sup>71</sup> KSB Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Application: A Handbook*, (Prosopographica et Genealogica; Oxford, University of Oxford Press, 2007), p. 8. Another definition was located in the introduction to a recent exhibition catalogue, proving that relevant information can be found in a variety of sources: 'Prosopographical research has the aim of learning about patterns of relationships and activities through the study of collective biography, and proceeds by collecting and analysing statistically relevant quantities of biographical data about a well-defined group of individuals' (*Prosopography*, Academy Gallery catalogue, (Launceston, University of Tasmania, 2010)).

might have worked had the sample group been more numerous and the research questions simpler.

The ultimate research questions were not difficult to formulate as Arnold had already created descriptive phrases for the wider movement between Australia and New Zealand. For the past thirty years these concepts have been Arnold's particular and lasting contribution to the historiography of research into Australia-New Zealand people movement. It therefore made perfect sense to use Arnold's phrases as a starting point, as a ready collection of concepts for discussion.

One of the aims of this project had always been to approach this material from a family history viewpoint and this intention was revisited. It was decided, as a first pass, to write an extended family history of all of the people mentioned in Eliza ADAMS' letters. This document was to especially concern itself with those who had a New Zealand connection and to concentrate primarily on this aspect of their lives while also including their family circumstances, in case these circumstances should prove to have a bearing on their subsequent decisions. Interconnections between families and individuals would also be explored. Over two hundred pages of straightforward family history reporting were prepared, teased out of the letters and with the addition of reminiscences, obituaries, newspaper reports, and the writings of descendants, as well as the standard government records also available to family historians.

Preparing a family history-oriented collective biography proved invaluable. It provided each person with not only a context in time and place but, equally importantly, a community of friends and acquaintances as well. It has also avoided much of the stop-start nature of historical writing, where one searches for a half-remembered comment or connection, as the history part was already collected in one place and was simply awaiting analysis.

Thus, while the research for this thesis did create computerised data, that data was not compiled to any statistical format. A rigid format would have defeated the family history purpose of this study where no detail, however minor, should

be discarded. It is freely admitted that such an approach is potentially more subjective than rigidly controlling the statistical data.<sup>72</sup> Also, unlike a formal prosopography where individuals are listed alphabetically and the same type of data recorded for each so that each person has an equal weighting within the list or data-set, family history methodology instead weights individuals according to the available information.<sup>73</sup> As with any family history, those who have written letters or a diary or a memoir will have greater prominence within the collective biography, than those whose movements are only currently accessible through a lone obituary or shipping lists.

Nolan's *Kin: A collective biography of a New Zealand working-class family* does highlight one important issue when writing social history from a collective biography, namely that biographical writing begs the question of typicality as in 'what can a study of the one [or the few] tell us about the many?'. Nolan's aim was to bridge the gap between biography and social history by using collective biography as the representation of a social group.<sup>74</sup> This thesis also uses its first chapter to consider the ADAMS and CLERKE families in this way. Thereafter it diverges from Nolan's format of featuring each of her subjects individually in their own chapter. Instead this study uses a moderately larger sample (that is, the other people known to Eliza ADAMS and Kate CLERKE) to discuss themes external to these individuals.

To paraphrase Meinig's methodological justification for his study of the South Australian wheat frontier, this thesis is not a history in the usual sense but an historical enquiry into certain features of interest.<sup>75</sup> It cannot hope to describe and analyse the whole complex of interrelated factors in the movement of people between Tasmania and New Zealand. Instead it attempts to relate

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<sup>72</sup> Some academics do argue that prosopography can accommodate databases of partial biographical information and that these are useful as 'structured qualitative data' and that, despite their partiality, these databases do not preclude valid quantitative analysis. KSB Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, (Prosopographica et Genealogica; Oxford, University of Oxford Press, 2007), p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> KSB Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, (Prosopographica et Genealogica; Oxford, University of Oxford Press, 2007), p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> M Nolan, *Kin: A collective biography of a New Zealand working-class family*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2005), pp. 16-17.

<sup>75</sup> DW Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier 1869-1884*, (Adelaide, Rigby Limited, 1962), preface.

portions of that story and to explore some of the basic patterns that emerge from that necessarily small and particular portion. The spirit in which this project was conceived dictates that as far as might be possible the 'voices' of the times and the places described will be 'heard' in their original prose.

## CHAPTER 2

### **No Barrier to Cross: a background to cross-Tasman people movement**

This chapter provides the earlier context for the later mid-nineteenth century movement of people between Tasmania and New Zealand which is the focus of this thesis. Even before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 many people had already travelled between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand. This chapter will demonstrate just how diverse was that group of people. From the earliest days of their existence, Van Diemonians and New Zealanders were two groups of people who knew a great deal about each other.

In keeping with the methodology for this research, the experiences of individuals rather than groups will be used to illustrate this earlier cross-Tasman movement using, where possible, accounts from the time. The individuals featured will also have been known, in one way or another, to the ADAMS and CLERKE families and their friends and acquaintances which comprise the post-1855 research sample. Because of this the examples provided in this chapter will be eclectic and to some extent exclusive. These examples will not cover every permutation of pre-1855 cross-Tasman movement – instead their purpose is to create an ambience of interconnectedness between people. What these individuals and their experiences will demonstrate is that many varying and personal reactions to New Zealand would have been disseminated throughout the Van Diemonian community from the earliest days of that colony.

The convicts and settlers of Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand were part of the constant mobility of persons that characterised the British Empire during the early nineteenth century. Ballantyne's recent paper, 'Mobility, empire, colonisation', brings to the fore exactly this aspect of that world. For instance Ballantyne notes the mobility of convicts within Britain prior to their

transportation.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, for free settlers of education and means, there was often prior movement on a global scale. Among the group of later Tasman-crossers were several who already had experience of some place other than Britain before they left for Van Diemen's Land. Alexander CLERKE and Colin Nicol Campbell, for example, had both earlier lived and worked in Canada.

This atmosphere of mobility within the global context engendered by the British Empire provided Tasmanians travelling to New Zealand with no real barrier to cross – neither in the physical nor psychological sense. The Tasman Sea itself meant that either place was only a matter of a few days distant. Even Abel Janszoon Tasman, continuing east from Tasmania on 4 December 1642, had sighted New Zealand's Southern Alps by 13 December and made landfall on the eighteenth.<sup>77</sup> During the almost two hundred years between Tasman's feat of exploration and the mid-nineteenth century, the business of sailing had improved beyond measure. A list of shipping through Port Nicholson (Wellington) during 1843-1844 provided voyage times from both Launceston and Hobart. These ranged from eight to eighteen days, with most of these trips including a stop at another New Zealand port *en route*.<sup>78</sup>

Neither was there a psychological barrier for Tasmanians. Their 'migration' was unlikely to remove them forever from all that was loved and familiar. Those Tasmanians who called Britain 'Home' would feel the same whether they were in Tasmania or in New Zealand. Tasmanians for whom that island was 'home' could comfort themselves with the thought that they were merely moving to another part of the British Empire when they crossed the Tasman Sea to New Zealand, and might just as easily return.

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<sup>76</sup> T Ballantyne, 'Mobility, empire, colonisation', *History Australia*, v. 11, no. 2, August 2014, p. 11. A phenomenon already much discussed in Tasmania, especially as a possible reason why some people were transported over others (that is, because they were not local to the area in which they were caught, and thus lacked a respectable local character witness, they perhaps received a harsher sentence).

<sup>77</sup> KA Simpson, 'Tasman, Abel Janszoon', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. [www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies)

<sup>78</sup> The majority with a stop at Nelson and one trip via Auckland. *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 30 March 1844, p. 3.

Initially, British settlement in New Zealand proceeded 'in an unregulated way, the population of whalers, traders, seamen and other actors at the edge of empire increasing from just 300 to 2000 during the 1830s'.<sup>79</sup> It was during the 1830s that the Home government appointed James Busby, an immigrant to New South Wales, as their first British Resident. It was the government's intention that Busby might 'curb the conduct of visiting ships' crews and round up runaway convicts'.<sup>80</sup> Māori chiefs had been petitioning for protection and there were also fears of French intervention in New Zealand. Busby arrived at the Bay of Islands in May 1833<sup>81</sup> with little or no support from New South Wales from whence funds for any show of force were supposed to come.<sup>82</sup>

In 1840 the arrival of the future Lieutenant-Governor, William Hobson, signalled the end of Busby's untenable position and the whole of New Zealand became subject to British sovereignty. Wright discusses the effect of the subsequent Treaty of Waitangi as a largely fictional turning point in the consciousness of 'ambitious mid-nineteenth century middle-class settlers',<sup>83</sup> but even so its meaning was clear – some form of law and order had arrived. All this was watched and reported on in Van Diemen's Land. Many newspaper items from the 1830s and 1840s also include information about Van Diemonians who had already crossed the Tasman. For example, petitions sent from New Zealand to the British Government in 1837 and reprinted in the *Colonial Times* contained both the names of Henry Oakes (an erstwhile Hobartian) and reference to the corrupt dealings of an unnamed Launceston businessman.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> P Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002), p. 139.

<sup>80</sup> AH McIntock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 278.

<sup>81</sup> Busby's imminent departure from Sydney was reported on in Van Diemen's Land. *Hobart Town Courier*, 22 March 1833, p. 3. His appointment had been heralded earlier via the *Sydney Gazette* (*Launceston Advertiser*, 13 December 1832, p. 400).

<sup>82</sup> As a consul of the British Government, it was felt inappropriate that the colony of New South Wales should be asked to pay for him. *Launceston Advertiser*, 28 August 1834, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup> M Wright, *Convicts: New Zealand's Hidden Criminal Past*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2012), pp. 204-205.

<sup>84</sup> *Colonial Times*, 11 April 1837, p. 6.



### Sealers and whalers

Sealers and whalers had been present in this part of the globe well before British rule made itself properly felt in either Van Diemen's Land or New Zealand. In 1792 William Raven, master of the *Britannia*, brought in to Sydney:

455 seal skins from New Zealand waters. ... Shortly after this the *Norfolk* sailed from Sydney to Bass Straits and returned with fabulous stories of the huge seal population ... a rush like a gold rush began. ... [and] in Tasmania the first non-convict population to settle were the sealers and whalers.<sup>85</sup>

The late nineteenth century Tasmanian historian James Backhouse Walker made the impact of this 'rush' clear when he stated that in the very early nineteenth century British authorities often had no other recourse than to utilise the services of whaling masters. This was in spite of the Governor of New South Wales instructing Lieutenant John Bowen that, as far as Van Diemen's Land was concerned, 'no trade or intercourse was to be allowed with any ships touching the port'. However the practicality was that 'many were the missions of relief or mail despatch that were entrusted to whalers, or even American sealers'.<sup>86</sup>

New Zealand waters became part of the usual run for early whalers out of Van Diemen's Land. It was included in the 'Middle Grounds' which lay between the south-east coast of Australia and from the west coast of the North Island of New Zealand to the south of Norfolk Island. New Zealand was also part of the 'Eastern Grounds' between south-east Tasmania and the Chatham Islands including the coastline of the South Island of New Zealand.<sup>87</sup> Van Diemen's Land's first chaplain, the Reverend Robert Knopwood, gave this movement across southern waters a seasonal flavour when he noted from Hobart in

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<sup>85</sup> H Fysh, *Henry Reed: Van Diemen's Land Pioneer*, (Hobart, Cat & Fiddle Press, 1973), p. 30.

<sup>86</sup> JB Walker, *Early Tasmania: Papers read before the Royal Society of Tasmania during the years 1888 to 1899*, (5<sup>th</sup> impression, Hobart, Government Printer, 1989), pp. 24-25.

<sup>87</sup> P Mercer, *A Most Dangerous Occupation*, (Hobart, National Trust of Australia, 2002), pp. 3-4.

September 1805, 'When the season ends here, the fishery begins at New Zealand'.<sup>88</sup>

A well-known example of the usefulness of whalers to the early administration of the Australian colonies was Captain Bunker who kidnapped two Māori men in 1793<sup>89</sup> at the behest of Philip Gidley King while the latter was in charge of the settlement on Norfolk Island.<sup>90</sup> Tuki Tahua and Ngāhuruhuru from Northland were taken to Norfolk Island in a misguided attempt to start a flax industry there.<sup>91</sup> In turn, first-hand knowledge of this story would have been brought to Van Diemen's Land by the Norfolk Islanders who were relocated to the plains south of Launceston in 1813.<sup>92</sup> This area was named the Norfolk Plains in honour of these settlers, a name now identified with the district around the town of Longford where many of the people named in the letters of Eliza ADAMS also lived.

According to Mein Smith the diplomatic relations forged between King and Tuki and Huru because of this incident acted as a catalyst for 'dozens of Maori' to visit Sydney for a wide range of reasons.<sup>93</sup> As a part of the southern sea routes Van Diemen's Land also saw its share of both Māori seamen and Māori entrepreneurs in their own right. In November 1837 the Commandant of Port Arthur, Charles O'Hara Booth, recorded in his diary the late arrival of the *Caroline*:

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<sup>88</sup> Entry for 16 September 1805. M Nicholls (ed.), *The Diary of the Reverend Robert Knopwood 1803-1838*, (Launceston, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1977), p. 91.

<sup>89</sup> AH McIntock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 704. See also, JB Walker, *Early Tasmania: Papers read before the Royal Society of Tasmania during the years 1888 to 1899*, (Hobart, Government Printer, fifth impression, 1989), p. 156.

<sup>90</sup> AGL Shaw, 'King, Philip Gidley (1758-1808)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.anu.edu.au)

<sup>91</sup> JB Walker, *Early Tasmania: Papers read before the Royal Society of Tasmania during the years 1888 to 1899*, (5<sup>th</sup> impression, Hobart, Government Printer, 1989), pp. 156-157. Tuki Tahua was a tohunga (priest) and Ngāhuruhuru a warrior (B Keane, 'Te rāngai mahi – Māori in the workforce – European contact', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. [www.TeAra.govt.nz](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz)).

<sup>92</sup> LS Bethell, *The Story of Port Dalrymple: Life and Work in Northern Tasmania*, (Hobart, Blubber Head Press, 1980), p. 20.

<sup>93</sup> P Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 29.

Manned by New Zealanders – The Master & Chief of a Tribe “The Duke of York” lunched with me – the latter a good looking athletic intelligent man – he appeared to take much notice and be pleased particularly with the Semaphores and Accordeon [*sic*] – he evidently quite felt the Charm of the beautifully harmonized Chords of this Instrument.<sup>94</sup>

Of the early sealers two names beg special attention. The first is the 1820s sealer John Boulton. He was a scion of ‘minor Nottinghamshire gentry’<sup>95</sup> and the brother of Edwin Boulton of Rock House, Avoca, in Northern Tasmania. His class and his literacy made him unusual among sealers, and the fact that he wrote up his reminiscences made him even more so. After first trying the West Indies, Boulton had emigrated to Van Diemen’s Land with his brother Edwin in 1823, from whence he went sealing in the wilds of southern New Zealand between 1826-1828. Through the marriages of his brother’s children Boulton was connected to the family of the Tasmanian letter writer Eliza ADAMS (chapter 3), as well as to the HARRISON, Taylor and Watchorn families which also formed a part of the acquaintance of the CLERKE family.

In 1825 before he went to New Zealand, Boulton revisited his recently married brother in Van Diemen’s Land but did not stay.<sup>96</sup> After three years in New Zealand waters and a stint in Sydney to earn the wherewithal to move on, he again returned south to his brother’s farm. By this time Edwin and Mary Boulton had two children and ‘with him I staid seven months’.<sup>97</sup> This was more than ample time for John Boulton to provide Edwin, his family and his friends, with more than a passing acquaintance with all things New Zealand. Possibly it was during this visit that John was encouraged to write up his adventures for the consumption of his family back in England. Well before he produced the *Journal of a Rambler* Boulton’s New Zealand stories would have been

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<sup>94</sup> 14 November 1837. D Heard (ed.), *The Journal of Charles O’Hara Booth: Commandant of the Port Arthur Penal Settlement*, (Hobart, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1981), p. 218.

<sup>95</sup> S Natusch, ‘Boulton, John’, *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.  
[www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies)

<sup>96</sup> J Stark (ed.), *Journal of a Rambler: The Journal of John Boulton*, (Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 31.

<sup>97</sup> J Stark (ed.), *Journal of a Rambler: The Journal of John Boulton*, (Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 118.

available to his extended family and the realities of the South Island's weather, natural bounty, and the ways of the Māori, would have become a part of the collective memory of those Van Diemonians who came in contact with him.

The second person worthy of attention within the context of sealers is Captain James Kelly.<sup>98</sup> Kelly's experiences in New Zealand included a particularly well-known case of early Māori 'perfidy' which was reported on at some length in the *Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter* of March 1818 as the 'Massacre of Three Europeans by the Natives of the South Coast of New Zealand'.<sup>99</sup> By a neat piece of quick thinking Kelly survived and Hobart was able to enjoy his version of events. The bias or otherwise of this report is not at issue here.<sup>100</sup> What is of interest is the impression it would have given Hobartians because, despite this setback, the same newspaper was able to report that Kelly had also 'procured 3000 seal skins'<sup>101</sup> – a significant catch which would have resonated with Van Diemonian entrepreneurs. Kelly survived into old age to be celebrated as the 'Old Stager' of both Tasmania and New Zealand. Forty years later the *Colonist* copied a piece from the *Hobart Courier* commemorating the anniversary of Kelly's 1818 adventure, when the '3000 sealskins' again received prominence.<sup>102</sup>

Incidentally, William Tucker, a crewman on the *Sophia* with Kelly in 1818, was cut down by their pursuers as the remaining sealers escaped through the surf. Tucker was an early 'Pākehā Māori',<sup>103</sup> a man with a foot in both camps, and is

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<sup>98</sup> For a condensed appraisal of Kelly and Tasmanian activities in New Zealand waters, see S Lawrence, 'A Maritime Empire: Archaeological Evidence for Van Diemen's Land Whaling in the Southern Oceans', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, v. 13, 2008, pp. 29-32.

<sup>99</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter*, 28 March 1818, p. 2.

<sup>100</sup> Belich notes that, 'Most of the incidents involving sealers seem to have been part of a feud between local Maori and two particular captains, James Kelly of the *Sophia* and Abimelech Riggs of the *General Gates*. Maori took seals for food and were therefore in competition with the sealers for resources. This was not true of whaling, flax or timber, which generally speaking did not interfere with normal Maori resource use'. J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 170.

<sup>101</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter*, 28 March 1818, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup> The *Colonist* tantalisingly lamented that 'want of space' prevented them from including the additional testimony of 'an aged veteran' who had been an eyewitness to these exciting events. *Colonist*, 21 May 1858, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> 'A third kind of New Zealander'. As described by Bentley, these were European men who at this early period 'penetrated Maori communities, adapted to tribal life and influenced their hosts'. T Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: The Extraordinary Story of the Europeans Who Lived as Maori*

currently claimed as the South Island's first sheep farmer.<sup>104</sup> This attribution, and what is known of Tucker's past, begs the question of whether he might possibly have sourced his flock of 'first sheep' from Van Diemen's Land?

Greater numbers of Van Diemonians also began to avail themselves of the opportunities presented by whaling. In the early 1830s Henry Reed was one of the first to send ships out from Launceston to hunt whales – ships such as the *Socrates* and the *Norval* – though more often to Portland Bay than to New Zealand.<sup>105</sup> A feisty Yorkshireman who had arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1826, Reed is part of the folklore of historic Launceston as someone for whom 'everything that he touched prospered throughout his life'.<sup>106</sup> Much of Reed's success stemmed from his uncanny ability to know when to remove himself from a venture.<sup>107</sup> He did not stay in whaling for long, which he had in any case combined with trading. In 1834 the *Socrates* was 'forced back to New Zealand two or three times, from leakage and other causes, since she was plundered'.<sup>108</sup> Despite the ship being boarded by Māori, Reed still received a cargo of '70,000 feet of pine' from this voyage.<sup>109</sup>

At the same time, 'from 1830, whalers from Sydney and Hobart also established themselves in New Zealand'.<sup>110</sup> Their names include those of Edwin, William and Ned Palmer. William Palmer, a Sydney-born whaler,

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in *Early New Zealand*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1999), p. 9. While not necessarily aware of the term, early Van Diemonians were aware of the concept; the 1823 visit of James Cadell and his Māori wife to Sydney was fully reported there (*Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 3 May 1823, p. 2).

<sup>104</sup> P Entwistle, *Taka: A Vignette Life of William Tucker 1784-1817*, (Dunedin, Port Daniel Press, 2005), p. 104. See also p. 102, where Tucker is also claimed to have begun the trade in Māori heads.

<sup>105</sup> H Fysh, *Henry Reed: Van Diemen's Land Pioneer*, (Hobart, Cat & Fiddle Press, 1973), p. 33.

<sup>106</sup> LS Bethell, *The Story of Port Dalrymple: Life and Work in Northern Tasmania*, (Hobart, Blubber Head Press, 1980), p. 46.

<sup>107</sup> Reed sold the *Socrates* and his Portland Bay whaling station in 1836. H Fysh, *Henry Reed: Van Diemen's Land Pioneer*, (Hobart, Cat & Fiddle Press, 1973), p. 28.

<sup>108</sup> *Launceston Advertiser*, 11 December 1834, p. 3.

<sup>109</sup> *Launceston Advertiser*, 11 December 1834, p. 2. Note that Reed missed out on further opportunities in New Zealand simply because he took his family to England in 1847 and did not return to Tasmania until 1873.

<sup>110</sup> *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, (Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1958), v. ix, p. 275, cited in J Coe, *Not a Penny of Debt: The Life and Times of Henry Reed: Mercantilist, Evangelist & Philanthropist*, (Australia, self-published, 2006), p. 106.

‘fathered twenty-four children from two [Māori] wives at Preservation Inlet’.<sup>111</sup> His brother, Edwin Palmer, who had enjoyed a Hobart sojourn before heading for New Zealand,<sup>112</sup> ‘married’ Pātahi (Ngāi Tahu) and settled at Otākou in the late 1820s.<sup>113</sup> The history of Palmer and Pātahi is covered in detail by Wanhalla in *In/Visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand*.<sup>114</sup> By 1840 it was estimated that there were some one thousand bay whalers in New Zealand, representing as much as half of the European population in that period before the arrival of the immigrant ships.



**Figure 3:** Scrimshaw said to depict a Māori man and woman with their dog and musket. (QVM1985.H.0069, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston.)

<sup>111</sup> T Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: The Extraordinary Story of the Europeans Who Lived as Maori in Early New Zealand*, (Auckland, Penguin, 1999), p. 206.

<sup>112</sup> In Van Diemen's Land Edwin 'had lived, also, with a Captain Hardwicke, a racing man, and had ridden horses at races for him'. GA Hanning, *Palmer: Men of the Southern Seas*, (Dunedin, Taieri Print, 2009), p. 31. Charles Browne Hardwicke was an ex- Royal Navy lieutenant who arrived in Tasmania in 1816 (*Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, (Hobart, Maitland and Krone, 1900), v. 2, p. 153). He connects Palmer to the research group through the Eddie and Fogg families named in the Weston Collection correspondence.

<sup>113</sup> Though Palmer did later, in 1851, marry a European woman. GA Hanning, *Palmer: Men of the Southern Seas*, (Dunedin, Taieri Print, 2009), p. 31. William and Edwin's Hobart-born nephew, known as Ned, also settled in the South Island (A Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2009), p. 28).

<sup>114</sup> A Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2009).

### And always there were convicts

It was purported as common knowledge that the captains of sealing and whaling vessels smuggled convict escapees on board as extra hands.<sup>115</sup> In 1826 the *Hobart Town Gazette* posited that:

It is well known that in New Zealand alone, above 100 runaways from sentence in these colonies are now at large with impunity. ... Whaling ships being comparatively empty, offer many hiding places for bad characters, who thus secrete themselves until they are fairly out at sea.<sup>116</sup>

Until the 1840s New Zealand was attractive to absconding prisoners simply because it was far enough away to avoid detection and was largely unregulated. The 1836 correspondence of Henry Oakes,<sup>117</sup> forwarded to Australian newspapers by Thomas McDonnell,<sup>118</sup> stressed the 'attractions' of a largely lawless New Zealand. Oakes portrayed the Hokianga, in the north of the North Island, as:

A land where the Convict and the felon roam at large unpunished and *unmolested*, thereby offering to their confederates in crime, in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, a powerful motive to risk, by some desperate act, an escape from either Colony, to a place where their crimes are sheltered and their persons secure from the outraged laws of their country.<sup>119</sup>

The letter went on to provide specific examples, and reinforced the concern that the wrong sort of Europeans would acquire influence over impressionable

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<sup>115</sup> See also (for additional sources), J Phillips and T Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Migrants from England, Ireland & Scotland 1800-1945*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2008), pp. 28-29.

<sup>116</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette* (supplement), 2 September 1826, p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> Oakes was also a business associate of the more famous Hobartian FE Maning.

<sup>118</sup> McDonnell had been appointed the honorary Additional British Consul. AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, pp. 357-358. McDonnell's main claim to fame was his December 1835 capture (with the subsequent assistance of Oakes) of the mutineers of the *Industry* when that vessel arrived at the Hokianga. These men were then despatched to Hobart for trial (*Hobart Town Courier*, 8 January 1836, p. 2).

<sup>119</sup> *Sydney Herald*, 19 January 1837, p. 2.

Māori.<sup>120</sup> Tales of convicts venturing to New Zealand are many, and none perhaps is more evocative than the story of the inimitable Charlotte Badger and her cohorts who captured the *Venus* from northern Van Diemen's Land in June 1806 and made their escape to the Bay of Islands. These particular 'pirates' were mostly recaptured but sightings of the elusive Charlotte among Māori and in the wider Pacific continued for many years, earning her a place in trans-Tasman folklore.<sup>121</sup>

Compiling exact figures for the number of absconding and ex-convicts who actually made their way to New Zealand has, to date, proven too difficult. Wright goes no further than to quote Edward Jerningham Wakefield's figure of ten per cent of 2000 Europeans in 1835. Included among the 2000 were also sailors who jumped ship.<sup>122</sup> Absconding convicts remained an issue for New Zealand. In 1843 for example, a New Zealand newspaper was only too happy to report that of nine recently sentenced miscreants, six were runaway convicts of which two were from Van Diemen's Land. The report went on to state that this was the case for most convictions, lest anyone think for a moment that this anti-social element might comprise New Zealand Company immigrants!<sup>123</sup>

However in terms of being able to disseminate information about New Zealand to their fellow Van Diemonians, it is a moot point whether the people from the research group for this thesis would have lent any credence to the experiences of prisoners, even if they had access to convicts returned from New Zealand. While Australian convicts and convictism was an issue for New Zealand throughout much of the nineteenth century, such issues will not be explored here. Convicts will be discussed in the following chapters only as the necessity arises.

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<sup>120</sup> A concern also expressed by *Hobart Town Gazette* (supplement), 2 September 1826, p. 1.

<sup>121</sup> B Beatty, *A Treasury of Australian Folk Tales and Traditions*, (Penrith, Discovery Press, 1974), pp. 165-168. See also, ML Ormsby, 'Badger, Charlotte', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, [www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies). Interestingly there is currently no *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry for Charlotte Badger.

<sup>122</sup> M Wright, *Convicts: New Zealand's Hidden Criminal Past*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2012), p. 205. Belich estimates that 'some ten percent of the 30,000 convicts shipped to eastern Australia before 1820 escaped', with New Zealand but one of their destinations (J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 132).

<sup>123</sup> *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 14 October 1843, p. 2.



## Entrepreneurs

The earlier Van Diemonian export trade to New Zealand which had been inaugurated by sealers and whalers increased rapidly during the 1830s.<sup>124</sup> By 1841 the Van Diemen's Land surveyor, James Scott, was able to write, 'New Zealand appears to progress steadily – the natives are getting civilized & working as labourers & farmers on their own lands – & selling the produce to the settlers'.<sup>125</sup> Scott's older brother, Thomas, had returned to Scotland leaving James to manage his property in Van Diemen's Land and James was careful to report back faithfully on whatever was being discussed in Launceston at the time.

Māori entrepreneurs were not only selling their produce to their own settlers. In 1834 it was a case of: 'Cannibal New Zealanders have become cultivators of the soil and actually undersell us in our own market!!!!'. Hobart's *Colonial Times* was aghast at this turn of events and took the opportunity to swipe at its own government:

We find a set of copper-coloured savages, without capital, or any of our glorious privileges, such as taxes, quit-rent, revenue of any sort, attornies [*sic*] or usurers:– nay, what is more, without a Government, Executive or Legislative Council, or even one "Act" of Parliament, Colonial or other, sawing timber, growing flax, planting potatoes, sowing Indian corn, and all at a cheaper rate than it can be grown in a Colony with such innumerable blessings as we find attendant upon our civilized mode of Government.<sup>126</sup>

It was not only the Māori who were trading their potatoes and flax and kauri into Van Diemen's Land. The traffic was two-way. In the Hokianga the Van Diemonian Frederick Edward Maning,<sup>127</sup> a 'Pākehā Māori', maintained his links with his brothers in Hobart with whose company he is understood to have

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<sup>124</sup> W Lawson, *Blue Gum Clippers and Whale Ships of Tasmania*, (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1949; facsimile edition, Victoria, The Book Printer, 1986), p. 81.

<sup>125</sup> James Scott to Thomas Scott, 28 December 1841. DJL Archer (ed.), *The Scott Letters: VDL & Scotland 1836-55*, (Launceston, Regal Publications, 2009), p. 112.

<sup>126</sup> *Colonial Times*, 6 May 1834, p. 5, cited in J Goodrick, *Life in Old Van Diemen's Land*, (Adelaide, Rigby Limited, 1977), p. 108.

<sup>127</sup> Maning is linked to the 1855-1875 research group through his son's marriage into the Tasmanian Elliston family, and their marriage into the Pitt family.

traded.<sup>128</sup> Like the CLERKES, Maning was the child of moderately wealthy Anglo-Irish parents. His family also emigrated to Van Diemen's Land to farm in 1824 when Maning would have been around twelve or thirteen years old. His father decided to give up his land grant and live and work in Hobart, a change which did not appear to suit Maning's taste for the outdoor life. He crossed the Tasman Sea in 1833.<sup>129</sup>

Maning also maintained personal links with his family in Tasmania through several visits to Hobart, as well as through his children. After the 1847 death of his wife, Moengaroa of Te Hikutu, Maning took his young daughter, Maria, to Hobart and left her there to be educated by her grandparents. She remained in Tasmania for eighteen years before returning home in July 1865 at the age of twenty-three.<sup>130</sup> In the 1870s his son, Hauraki Hereward Maning, also went to Tasmania and married there<sup>131</sup> before settling in Victoria.<sup>132</sup>

There were other Van Diemonians in partnership with Maning in New Zealand in the early 1830s. The English tourist Edward Markham, after 'a Monotonous life' in Hobart<sup>133</sup> demonstrated that even at such an early date as 1834 people could cross the Tasman and re-establish themselves in New Zealand virtually on a whim. On the Hokianga Markham met up with Maning, Thomas Kelly and 'the gay and jovial'<sup>134</sup> 'Major' Henry Oakes<sup>135</sup> whom he had known in Hobart.

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<sup>128</sup> There was later also a separate branch of the firm in Invercargill, known as Maning and Whitton. See also, 'Letters by or concerning FE Maning and his brothers, 1844-1917', NS790, Archives Office of Tasmania (TAHO).

<sup>129</sup> D Colquhoun, 'Maning, Frederick Edward', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. [www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies) Note, there is a possibility that Maning may have been to New Zealand previously with Oakes in 1831-1832.

<sup>130</sup> On board the *Bella Mary* with Tasmania's renowned Captain Richard Copping. *Mercury*, 6 July 1865, p. 2. Maria's stay in Tasmania resulted in her becoming a beneficiary of her grandfather's will (Will of Frederick Maning senior. Will no. 1076. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO), a not unusual occurrence for mixed-race New Zealand children (see for example, A Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2013), p. 19).

<sup>131</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1879 435/37.

<sup>132</sup> HH Maning died in Victoria at the age of 77. Death notice. *Argus*, 11 August 1923, p. 11.

<sup>133</sup> Introduction by EH McCormick in E Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1963), p. 22.

<sup>134</sup> D Burns, *Journal of a Voyage from London to Hobart in the Barque Calcutta*, cited at [www.geni.com/people/Henry-Oakes](http://www.geni.com/people/Henry-Oakes)

<sup>135</sup> Oakes was not actually a major. [www.geni.com/people/Henry-Oakes](http://www.geni.com/people/Henry-Oakes)

Such men and their Van Diemonian connections were the precursors of the Tasmanian entrepreneurs of the 1850s, which is why they are included here.

Another entrepreneurial precursor of potentially greater interest to the largely northern Tasmanian research group of the 1850s was Henry CLAYTON. His involvement with New Zealand began during the 1840s and the manner in which he developed his New Zealand business must have been a source of inspiration to Alexander CLERKE (chapter 3). Both families lived within a few miles of each other in the Longford district and ten years later the CLERKEs can be discerned as attempting to follow virtually the same entrepreneurial trajectory as the CLAYTON family had before them.

Henry CLAYTON went to Norfolk Island as a boy in 1804, accompanying his free mother and convict father, and stayed there until 1813.<sup>136</sup> He arrived too late to have seen the kidnapped Māori, Tuki Tahua and Ngāhuruhuru. Nevertheless he would have heard the story and possibly learnt other facts about New Zealand – such as the fact that Norfolk Island and New Zealand shared plants like flax in common as well as a myriad of birdlife.<sup>137</sup>

The convict father was discarded soon after their arrival in Van Diemen's Land and Henry CLAYTON became the family patriarch. He was a hard working entrepreneur and an extensive landowner and, among other things, the proprietor of several flour mills. During the 1840s CLAYTON also owned or chartered his own ships which allowed him to enter his flour at whichever New Zealand port he saw fit. Prior to July 1846 CLAYTON owned the *Adelaide* which he sold on after its return from New Zealand that same year,<sup>138</sup> moving his operations to the *Elizabeth*.<sup>139</sup> In November 1846 Henry sent one of his sons, Nicholas George CLAYTON, to Auckland on the *Elizabeth* with a mixed

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<sup>136</sup> HB Holmes (compiler), *The Claytons of Wickford* (ms), p. 2 in Archives Office of Tasmania correspondence file (Clayton), TAHO.

<sup>137</sup> JB Walker, *Early Tasmania: Papers read before the Royal Society of Tasmania during the years 1888 to 1899*, (5<sup>th</sup> impression, Hobart, Government Printer, 1989), p. 147.

<sup>138</sup> Sold to Moss & Nathan. *Launceston Examiner*, 17 June 1846, p. 4.

<sup>139</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 4 November 1846, p. 4.

cargo and 275 bags of his own flour.<sup>140</sup> This is believed to be the twenty-year old Nicholas' first foray into New Zealand. Shortly thereafter, on a return voyage to Launceston, the *Elizabeth* was wrecked.<sup>141</sup> CLAYTON then took over the *Marys* which arrived in Launceston in May 1847 with the wreck of its predecessor and a salvaged cargo of 'New Zealand pine'.<sup>142</sup> Less than a month later CLAYTON sent the *Marys* back across the Tasman to Wellington with a full cargo of his own: 706 bags of flour, 3 bales of leather, 1 tierce tobacco, and 14 dozen tanned skins.<sup>143</sup> Around this time another son, Richard CLAYTON, also went to New Zealand. Perhaps he was on the wharf in Auckland to claim a further 662 bags of flour forwarded from Launceston at the end of September 1847.<sup>144</sup> From December that year the following advertisement appeared in the *New Zealander*: 'Van Diemen's Land Flour, First and Seconds. A Constant Supply of the above, on Sale at the Stores of the Undersigned. Richard Clayton. Fort Street'.<sup>145</sup> Richard and Nicholas were but two of Henry CLAYTON's six sons and six daughters<sup>146</sup> and their movements provide only a small part of the extent of CLAYTON family enterprises in Tasmania and New Zealand.<sup>147</sup>

If a comparison of the 1843 produce prices for Nelson, Auckland, Hobart and Launceston is anything to go by, Henry CLAYTON had done his homework. For

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<sup>140</sup> Clayton's flour was accompanied by 3 cases of haberdashery and 3 cases of slops sent by Moss & Nathan, while Kerr, Bogle & Co. sent 40 boxes of soap and 5 chests of congou (black tea). *Launceston Examiner*, 28 November 1846, p. 4.

<sup>141</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 28 April 1847, p. 6.

<sup>142</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 5 June 1847, p. 2. Presumably the cargo saved from the *Elizabeth* (*Launceston Examiner*, 28 April 1847, p. 6).

<sup>143</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 26 June 1847, p. 6. Note, Van Diemonian farmers grew tobacco as a treatment for scab.

<sup>144</sup> Also on board the *Marys*. *Launceston Examiner*, 25 September 1847, p. 6.

<sup>145</sup> This advertisement dated from 17 December 1847. *New Zealander*, 12 February 1848, p. 4.

<sup>146</sup> From Clayton's first marriage. He had a further three sons by his second marriage, at least one of whom also made his home in New Zealand.

<sup>147</sup> As well as being visitors to Alexander Clerke's property in Longford ('Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020), the Claytons were also connected by marriage to the Button family. To name but a few other connections, Henry's sons were taught by William Gore Elliston, the later father-in-law of Haurangi Hereward Maning, and in New Zealand Henry's granddaughter, Mary, married Julius Vogel, later Prime Minister of New Zealand. Mary was the daughter of Henry Clayton's most famous son, William Henry Clayton, the architect of New Zealand's Government Buildings in Wellington. Mary's son, Henry [Harry] Benjamin Vogel, later wrote a novel, *Gentleman Garnet: Bushranger* set in Tasmania during the 1830s and 'described as a stirring yarn of early days in Van Diemen's Land' (*Evening Post*, 29 October 1927, p. 20). Interestingly his mother had been a pupil at Ellinthorpe Hall in Tasmania which was held up by bushrangers in 1838 (GT Stilwell, 'Mr and Mrs George Carr Clark of "Ellinthorpe Hall"', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 11, no. 3, April 1963, pp. 85-87).

example, a ton of 'first flour' (a description often used for the Van Diemen's Land article) would fetch £14 in Hobart. The same ton of flour was worth £21 at Nelson and £25 in Auckland.<sup>148</sup> A compilation of the cargo of the *Sir John Franklin* on its return visit to Nelson from Launceston in October 1843 indicates that at that time flour was by far the most popular export. Well-known Launceston traders, including James Raven and Henty & Co., sent the following: 42 tons and 14 cwt of flour, 2 cases of Bath bricks, 30 kegs of butter, 35 boxes of raisins, 260 bushels of oats, 1 keg and 2 bags of pearl barley, 2 quarter casks of wine, 40 bags of biscuits, 2 bags of pepper, 2 bags of ginger, 4 bags of almonds, 2 casks of pork, 3 ploughs, and a case of books belonging to the Reverend Mr Turner.<sup>149</sup>

Another Launceston entrepreneur who shipped wheat and flour with Henty & Co. and Henry Reed during the 1840s had his own New Zealand story. In 1837, on his way out to Van Diemen's Land to join his sister, the twenty year-old William Boswell Dean found his ship laid up in Wellington, so:

Mr Dean engaged a number of Maories [*sic*] to build him a house out of the native flax, and purchasing from a fellow passenger named Rhodes a quantity of bricks he built an oven. After establishing a business he sold out to a Mr Goodfellow.<sup>150</sup>

Another of CLERKE's neighbours, later to become Kate CLERKE's father-in-law, was William Pritchard WESTON and he too imparted lessons of a kind relating to New Zealand. Although not involved in trading himself (beyond his farming investments) from the late 1830s WESTON scribbled pages of advice to prospective emigrants. These were possibly intended for publication during his 1840-1842 visit to England. He included several pages on New Zealand though there is no evidence that he ever went there himself.<sup>151</sup> This would have been no deterrent as by that date he would have read much and spoken with

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<sup>148</sup> *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 13 May 1843, p. 3.

<sup>149</sup> *Launceston Advertiser*, 26 October 1843, p. 2.

<sup>150</sup> Obituary. *Daily Telegraph*, 20 January 1891, p. 2. Note, 'Mr. Goodfellow, baker' can be confirmed as a Wellington identity (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 21 November 1840, p. 2).

<sup>151</sup> His daughter, Fanny Jane Morrah (née Weston), did not go to New Zealand until the 1860s.

many men who had already crossed the Tasman and returned. WESTON felt that although New Zealand was eminently suitable for agriculture, it could nevertheless 'make but slow progress unless artificially supported by a large expenditure from the parent state or aided by compulsory labour'. WESTON was a vigorous anti-transportationist so qualified these remarks by defining such labour as 'the striving poor of Great Britain under proper regulations'. He went on to opine that:

There is no room at present for the profitable investment of money to any extent, and the danger which exists to life and property from the Aborigines [Māori] ought to be sufficient reason to deter resident men of all classes from settling with their families whilst other & safer fields for location remain open.<sup>152</sup>

WESTON's motive was obvious. He sought to encourage free settlers to emigrate to Van Diemen's Land rather than to the newer colonies. In another draft pamphlet, a satirical piece on the 'quacks' who were then advocating immigration, with a very long title beginning 'Poverty at Home and plenty abroad', WESTON addressed British womenfolk:

If you can beg or borrow money to pay your passage and can go out under proper protection to any of the colonies, but New Zealand – you may go safely. ... New Zealand where the Natives would make a roast of [colonists] so much do they like them.<sup>153</sup>

WESTON would not have recognised the descriptions circulating about New Zealand a mere ten years later. *The Emigrant's Friend* informed Van Diemonians and others in 1848 that the total European population of New Zealand was estimated at 10,700. Regardless of the accuracy of their figures, this was qualified by the heartening news that 'there is a disposition among many persons in the higher classes of society to emigrate from England to New Zealand', as well as a 'large influx in population ... in the form of persons

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<sup>152</sup> WP Weston, 'Remarks on Emigration with some Information on the Present State of the Austral-Asian Colonies by a Colonist many years resident in Tasmania' (ms facsimile), QVMAG, CHS 47,1/4.

<sup>153</sup> Writings of WP Weston (ms), QVMAG, CHS47, 1/3.

arriving from the neighbouring colonies'.<sup>154</sup> Andrews states that between 1837 and 1852 some two hundred of these publications were produced that specifically mentioned New Zealand.<sup>155</sup> It was little wonder then that WESTON's emigration notes remained unpublished.

### An overlay of official movements

Pre-1855 people movement between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand comprised a large and important component where the interconnections between people and their motivations and experiences were quite different to the family business model, though they were still predicated on 'business' of a kind. This other movement relates to career paths within the colonial administration. Colonial administrators were one example. Thomas Gore Browne, who had been instrumental in naming Invercargill in 1856 was first the governor of New Zealand and then of Tasmania.<sup>156</sup> Frederick Aloysius Weld was another, 'a New Zealand colonist since 1843', who was later governor of Tasmania where the tin mining township of Weldborough was named after him.<sup>157</sup> Both these careers however, took place largely outside the pre-1855 period of this chapter.

Instead it was a Governor's wife who forged her own link across the Tasman. For a few short weeks during 1841 Lady Jane Franklin subjected New Zealand to a visit of inspection.<sup>158</sup> She had her husband's permission to go and was ostensibly 'gathering material for a great book she intends to write about the

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<sup>154</sup> *The Emigrant's Friend: or Authentic Guide to South Australia, including Sydney; Port Philip, or Australia Felix; Western Australia, or Swan River Colony; New South Wales; Van Dieman's [sic] Land; and New Zealand.*, ('Originally published in London in 1848. Recreated by Reader's Digest Sydney'; original in Mitchell Library, Sydney), p. 33.

<sup>155</sup> J Andrews, *No Other Home Than This: A History of European New Zealanders*, (Nelson, Craig Potton Publishing, 2009), p. 147. See also, M Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1989), pp. 20-22.

<sup>156</sup> T Brooking, *And Captain of Their Souls: An interpretative essay on the life and times of Captain William Cargill*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1984), p. 115. Gore Browne was Governor of New Zealand 1855-1861; Governor of Tasmania 1861-1868.

<sup>157</sup> *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, (Hobart, Maitland and Krone, 1900), v. 1, p. 24. Weld was a New Zealand politician from 1853-1865; Governor of Western Australia 1869-1875; Governor of Tasmania 1875-1880; Governor of the Straits Settlements 1880-1887.

<sup>158</sup> 21 February-22 May 1841.

Colonies there'.<sup>159</sup> She visited Wellington, Akaroa and the north of the North Island. In the north Governor Hobson arranged for her to travel to a missionary meeting in the Waikato where she was carried by Māori porters in a chair on poles.<sup>160</sup> 'She found the meeting curious and interesting, enjoyed the beach barbecue, and received presents of a bucket of lava and "a few human bones"'.<sup>161</sup>

One of the career administrators whose name would have been familiar throughout Van Diemen's Land, and who moved to and from New Zealand during this earlier period, was Henry Samuel Chapman. All of the families mentioned in the Weston Collection correspondence which had anything to do with early Tasmanian politics would have been familiar with his career. Names such as ARCHER, BLYTHE, CLERKE, DOUGLAS, Gregson, KERR, Kermode, LEGGE, REIBEY, SMITH, and WESTON, spring immediately to mind.

Chapman's career spanned Quebec, England, New Zealand (twice) and Tasmania. In London he was inspired by Edward Gibbon Wakefield (below) to found the *New Zealand Journal* which he edited from 1840-1843.<sup>162</sup> On Boxing Day 1843 he was sworn in as New Zealand's first Puisne Judge. In 1852 he accepted the position of Colonial Treasurer in Van Diemens Land.<sup>163</sup> He soon fell out of favour with Governor Denison by not supporting the government

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<sup>159</sup> A book that did not eventuate. James Scott to Thomas Scott, 26 February 1841. DJL Archer (ed.), *The Scott Letters: VDL & Scotland 1836-55*, (Launceston, Regal Publications, 2009), p. 98.

<sup>160</sup> Interestingly, the following year Lady Franklin 'was carried in a sort of palanquin by four "willing volunteers"' when she travelled across the wilds of Tasmania. This item, known as 'Lady Franklin's Chair', is in the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart. A Alexander, *Obliged to Submit: Wives and Mistresses of Colonial Governors*, (Hobart, Montpelier Press, 1999), p. 151.

<sup>161</sup> A Alexander, *The Ambitions of Jane Franklin: Victorian Lady Adventurer*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2013), p.154.

<sup>162</sup> A fact that before his arrival already endeared him to the New Zealand Company settlements; it was seen as proof of his prior interest in them. *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 13 December 1843, p. 2.

<sup>163</sup> Note, his obituary in the *Otago Daily Times* (28 December 1881, p. 2) stated that Chapman had not wanted to leave New Zealand. Another view of Chapman's motives is offered in AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 333.



position on transportation.<sup>164</sup> After losing this post he travelled to England and Melbourne, returning to New Zealand in 1864 as Puisne Judge of Otago until his retirement in 1875. At his retirement function Chapman prefaced his long association with his adopted country by stating somewhat facetiously 'that he had first arrived in New Zealand in 1843 when the only export was whale oil'.<sup>165</sup> He died in New Zealand in December 1881.<sup>166</sup>

As well as being able to discuss New Zealand with Van Diemonians during the early 1850s, Chapman would also have met up with innumerable Tasmanians while later undertaking his duties on the bench in New Zealand. For example, in the Jarvey trial of 1865 both the accused and his victim were from Tasmania.<sup>167</sup> The barrister for the accused was James SMITH, brother of an earlier Tasmanian Premier Sir Francis SMITH. At the nascent Invercargill Mechanics' Institute the previous year Chapman had rubbed shoulders with both The Reverend Benjamin DRAKE as well as a fellow member of the Tasmanian legal fraternity, Charles Edward BUTTON (chapter 4).<sup>168</sup>

There was also official cross-Tasman movement in the reverse direction. One such official transfer from New Zealand to Van Diemen's Land was the banishment of five political prisoners in 1846. Hohepa Te Umuroa (Ngāti Hau), Te Waretiti, Te Kumete, Matiu Tikiahi, and Te Rahui of Whanganui were sent to Hobart for incarceration. The Governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, had determined to inflict exemplary punishments 'to deter other Maori from taking

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<sup>164</sup> Sir William Denison to Mrs Charlotte Denison, 13 October 1852. R Davis and S Petrow (eds.), *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life (Van Diemen's Land Section)*, (Hobart, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 2004), p. 184.

<sup>165</sup> R Gilkison, *Early Days in Dunedin*, (New Zealand, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1938), p. 64. Nevertheless in 1843 it was stated that 'one of the most important exports of this Colony is the oil' (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 13 December 1843, p. 3).

<sup>166</sup> Information primarily from, *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Otago and Southland Provincial Districts*, (Wellington, Cyclopedia Company Ltd., 1905), v. 4, p. 235. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org) See also, S and B Bennett, *Biographical Register of the Tasmanian Parliament 1851-1960*, (Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1980), p. 31. Also, H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of Life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993), pp. 458-459.

<sup>167</sup> During the first Jarvey trial it was felt that Justice Chapman had shown an 'extraordinary leaning towards the prisoner' which led to a second trial. *Otago Witness*, 28 October 1865, p. 7.

<sup>168</sup> *Southland Times*, 6 October 1864, p. 2.

up arms against colonists'.<sup>169</sup> However, the warriors' Van Diemonian sojourn did not develop as Grey had intended. Instead their deportation received much negative comment in Van Diemonian newspapers.<sup>170</sup> Hence the five New Zealanders were not sent to one of the harsher penal settlements, but to the probation station on Maria Island where the superintendent was Samuel Lapham, 'a person of benevolent disposition'.<sup>171</sup> Lapham was the father of the later New Zealand authors, Susan Nugent Wood and her brother Henry Lapham.<sup>172</sup> These siblings grew up on Maria Island during this period and would have been aware of the Māori political prisoners and possibly even allowed to communicate with them.<sup>173</sup> The subsequent fates of these men and the repatriation of the surviving four to New Zealand in 1848 are described by Harman in *Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan and Māori Exiles*.

A second less ethically fraught example of reverse official movement occurred in the early 1850s when the New Zealand naturalist, William SWAINSON,<sup>174</sup> 'was employed to make a survey of the forests and trees of Van Diemen's Land and to report thereon'.<sup>175</sup> In October 1854 his short paper 'On the Best Method

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<sup>169</sup> K Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan and Māori Exiles*, (Sydney, UNSW Press, 2012), p. 220.

<sup>170</sup> J Tattersall, *Maoris on Maria Island: Punishment by Exile*, (Napier, Hawkes Bay Art Gallery and Museum, 1973), p. 18.

<sup>171</sup> The opinion of the Reverend Mr Fry, cited in J Tattersall, *Maoris on Maria Island: Punishment by Exile*, (Napier, Hawkes Bay Art Gallery and Museum, 1973), p. 22.

<sup>172</sup> For example, Mrs Nugent Wood and H Lapham, *Waiting for the Mail and Other Sketches and Poems*, (Melbourne, George Robertson, 1875). Through their mother (née Butler) Susan and Henry Lapham were connected to other Tasmanian families from the extended research group, such as the Dobson family of Tasmania and New Zealand. Similarly, in New Zealand, Susan Nugent Wood was a contemporary of Learmonth Dalrymple, and was invited by the latter to participate in the committee to initiate a high school for girls in Dunedin (*Otago Witness*, 18 December 1869, p. 14). The Dalrymple family was the first to host the Tasmanian letter writer Eliza Adams on her arrival in Dunedin in 1865.

<sup>173</sup> Especially given the reported leniency of Samuel Lapham in allowing the Irish political prisoner, William Smith O'Brien, to spend time with his children (C Macdonald, M Penfold and B Williams (eds.), *The Book of New Zealand Women*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1992)), coupled with the fact that the young son of the Māori prisoners' official guardian, John Jennings Imrie, was allowed to visit them (K Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan and Māori Exiles*, (Sydney, UNSW Press, 2012), p. 233).

<sup>174</sup> In 1866 Eliza Adams visited Swainson's daughter-in-law, Mary Ann Swainson (née Arrowsmith), at her home in the Hutt. Mary Ann was the sister of Eliza's Tasmanian friend, Sophia Wigan.

<sup>175</sup> P Menell, *The Dictionary of Australasian Biography*, (London, Hutchinson, 1892), p. 451. See also, 'During the years 1852-54, at the invitation of Australian governments, he studied the flora of New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania. He soon confined himself to gum trees, described 1,520 varieties, and claimed to have discovered the principle of their variation' (AH

of Relaxing the Dried Skins of Birds and other Animals' was read to members of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land.<sup>176</sup> The fact that Van Diemen's Land enjoyed the benefits of a Royal Society had already been discovered by other New Zealanders. In the 1840s the Reverend William Colenso contributed several papers on New Zealand botany to the *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science, Agriculture, Statistics, &c.* (the precursor to the Royal Society of Tasmania's publications).<sup>177</sup> All of which demonstrates a degree of interest and fellow-feeling between the professional and amateur naturalists of both places.

### A burst of soldiery

One area in which there was much government movement between colonies was in the military.<sup>178</sup> Although soldiers are not a feature of this research group, the conflicts in which they were involved in New Zealand were reported on with interest by Tasmanian newspapers. As well, there were many people in Tasmania who were not career soldiers but who also had military experience. Dr Ernest Arthur WIGAN of Evandale and Longford, for example, went to the Crimean War as an army surgeon. It was there that he met his wife, Sophia Arrowsmith, 'one of that band of brave lady nurses who went out under the care of Miss Florence Nightingale'.<sup>179</sup>

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McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 3, p. 334).

<sup>176</sup> W Swainson, 'On the Best Method of Relaxing the Dried Skins of Birds and other Animals', *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land*, v. 3, part 1, January 1855, pp. 6-8.

<sup>177</sup> Listed in the indexes of *The Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science, Agriculture, Statistics, &c.*, v. 1-3, (Hobart, Government Printer, 1842; and Launceston, Henry Dowling, 1846, 1849). From 1842 the editor of this journal was the eminent Launceston naturalist, Ronald Campbell Gunn, who also made his own journey to New Zealand in 1864 as the Tasmanian member of the 'Seat of Government Commission', an Australian commission to assist New Zealanders in selecting the site of their capital (*Otago Witness*, 27 August 1864, p. 20).

<sup>178</sup> The only member of the military whose family name appears in the Weston Collection correspondence is Colonel Windle Hill St Hill. His Tasmania to New Zealand story falls too late for this chapter. Obituary. *Mercury*, 1 June 1918, p. 6. See also, P Mennell, *The Dictionary of Australasian Biography: Comprising Notices of Eminent Colonists*, (London, Hutchinson & Co., 1892), p. 400.

<sup>179</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 15 April 1880, p. 2. Note, Sophia Arrowsmith was not listed on the 'Register of Nurses Sent to Military Hospitals in the East' (LDFNM: 0073). However, individual lady volunteers were not included on the register if they had not been sent out through official channels (Personal communication, Collections Manager, Florence Nightingale Museum, London).

The warlike propensities of New Zealand's 'brave and independent' Māori were well-known in Tasmania from the earliest days of that colony, and in the 1830s Horace Rowcroft used this knowledge to show up the inadequacies of Van Diemonian policies towards its Aboriginal population.<sup>180</sup> Writing tongue-in-cheek to the Aborigines Committee in Hobart, Rowcroft suggested that they capitalise on these warlike attributes for the good of Van Diemen's Land. He pointed out that the government's measures with regards to the colony's Aborigines had, to date, 'been wholly unsuccessful'. He proposed instead that a Māori war party should be invited to Van Diemen's Land for the 'capture of the Aborigines either dead or alive'. He postulated that the Māori were extremely well-fitted for such a task and that they would no doubt gladly take the remaining Van Diemonian Aborigines back to New Zealand 'to serve as prisoners and slaves, which would perhaps be a better lot for them than remaining in their own Country to be exterminated'. Rowcroft's letter contained much more besides, including, should his readers not have caught his gist, remarks implying that the British were too fearful to colonise New Zealand and had already ceded it to the Dutch.<sup>181</sup>

By the 1840s Māori were no longer a subject for jest. Indeed, 'the Australian colonies [were later forced to play] a crucial role in the New Zealand Wars of 1845-47'.<sup>182</sup> The scale of Van Diemonian support did not match that provided by New South Wales, though assistance was nevertheless sought and provided.

In particular, the Wairau Affray of June 1843 would have been of special interest to the Van Diemonians of the later research group.<sup>183</sup> This 'massacre',

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<sup>180</sup> Like many of the people in this research group, Horace Rowcroft farmed at Longford before taking up the editorship of the *Geelong Advertiser* in around 1850.

<http://mepnab.net.au.net/r/r12> Rowcroft is linked to this research group through Kate Clerke's correspondent Rachel Kilpatrick, via a progression of marriages. His brother, Charles Rowcroft, wrote *Tales of the Colonies*, which was published in London in 1845, and which is believed by his descendants to describe incidents of which Kate's father-in-law, William Prichard Weston, was the hero.

<sup>181</sup> Horace Rowcroft to Aborigines Committee, 17 June 1830. CSO 1/323, pp. 199-206 (TAHO). Reference provided by Nicholas Clements, University of Tasmania PhD candidate.

<sup>182</sup> J Hopkins-Weise, 'Van Diemen's Land and the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 50, no. 1, March 2003, p. 38.

<sup>183</sup> The Wairau Affray is seen as an important catalyst within Colonial Office (represented by the Governor) and New Zealand Company attitudes in relation to land acquisition. P Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 63.

as it was known at the time, was predicated on the actions of fifty men who set out from Nelson to deliver a warrant against the chiefs, Te Rauparaha (Ngāti Toa) and his nephew and son-in-law Rangihaeata, over a land dispute with the New Zealand Company.<sup>184</sup> After a series of blunders at least 22 Europeans and four Māori were killed. The event was news in Tasmania at the time:

The citizens of Nelson penned another memorial to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land which informed him of the serious state of affairs and indicated the threat felt by the settlers ... this communication was a direct call for military aid.<sup>185</sup>

In what the local New Zealand newspaper called 'the re-emigration of a large number of the working classes of this settlement to Sydney and Launceston', the *Sir John Franklin* was reported as having carried away 'about sixty-seven souls; and nearly the same number, we believe, left about a month after, in the *Sisters*, for Hobart Town'.<sup>186</sup> The *Sir John Franklin* went first to Sydney before continuing on to Launceston, arriving in October 1843. It was listed under 'Shipping Intelligence' with no particular indication that it might have been carrying Wairau refugees.<sup>187</sup> From the newspapers the inference appears to be that Wairau refugees went first to Sydney and shortly afterwards travelled south to Van Diemen's Land when they could not find work in New South Wales.<sup>188</sup>

These reports were anxious to point out the foolishness of leaving New Zealand 'for idleness and starvation in Australia and Van Diemen's Land'. Then followed descriptions from a correspondent as to how these people had had to keep moving in their quest to find work. Launceston and Hobart proved no better than Sydney in this respect, so that these families were 'heartily sick of the foolish change they had made' and would return to New Zealand if only they

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<sup>184</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 3, p. 520.

<sup>185</sup> J Hopkins-Weise, 'Van Diemen's Land and the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 50, no. 1, March 2003, p. 40.

<sup>186</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 14 October 1843, p. 6.

<sup>187</sup> Interestingly, one of the *Sisters* post-Wairau Nelson families was that of John Jennings Imrie, later to become the personal overseer of the five Māori political prisoners on Maria Island. K Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan and Māori Exiles*, (Sydney, UNSW Press, 2012), pp. 231-232.

<sup>188</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 28 October 1843, p. 4.

had the means.<sup>189</sup> In the same article the *New Zealand Gazette* was anxious to play down the situation at Nelson itself. Earlier they had stressed the friendly relations between the English settlers and ‘almost all the natives on the coast’. Certainly, during the retreat from Wairau, Eugene BELLAIRS (below) had met with a friendly reception. The *Launceston Examiner* was similarly able to report that Māori sailors on the whaler *Fortitude* who did not learn of the Wairau Affray until they reached Van Diemen’s Land, when asked also stressed that the incident was ‘bad for both parties, and to be deplored’.<sup>190</sup>

The *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* also reprinted a lengthy rant from the *Launceston Advertiser* which headlined in New Zealand as ‘The Van Diemen’s Land Version of the Wairoo [sic] Massacre’. The Van Diemonian article poured scorn on the New Zealand Company colonists and compared their actions at Wairau to the Spanish oppression of the natives of Peru.<sup>191</sup> This was followed by a piece from the *Hobart Town Advertiser* challenging later accounts of the event.<sup>192</sup> Van Diemen’s Land was well aware of the Wairau Affray and willing to take sides.

There was another Van Diemonian dimension to the Wairau Affray which, at the time, would have particularly interested the families living in and around Longford and Launceston. When Captain Arthur Wakefield was killed at Wairau his younger brother Felix was in Tasmania following the profession of surveyor and engineer. Felix was the youngest of the Wakefield brothers and the first to reach the Antipodes.<sup>193</sup> The eldest sibling, the acronymic ‘EGW’ (Edward Gibbon Wakefield) was integral to the history of the founding of company settlements in South Australia and especially New Zealand.

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<sup>189</sup> *Nelson Examiner*, 18 November 1843, cited in, *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 29 November 1843, p. 3. The same newspaper continued to push the message of Van Diemonian insolvency, reduced wages, and a shortage of sheep for meat (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 2 December 1843, p. 2).

<sup>190</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 21 October 1843, p. 4.

<sup>191</sup> *Launceston Advertiser*, 19 October 1843, cited in, *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 29 November 1843, p. 3. The progress of the New Zealand Company was regularly reported on in Van Diemonian newspapers. It was referred to at least 366 times during the decade 1840-50 (*Trove*).

<sup>192</sup> *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 27 October 1843, cited in, *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 29 November 1843, p. 3.

<sup>193</sup> P Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002), p. 139.

In 1839, for the edification of future generations, the first issue of the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* presented its 'Historical Sketch of the Colonization of New Zealand'. This sketch included a précis of EGW's replies to a committee of the House of Commons in 1836 where New Zealand was promoted as 'the fittest country in the world for colonization'. EGW went on to state that there were no colonies in Australia because 'I look upon the settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land as mere gaols of a peculiar kind'.<sup>194</sup> Wakefield was after all, promoting systematic colonization on company lines and did not take kindly to what he saw as interlopers from those neighbouring colonies making their own 'treaties' with Māori chiefs in an unregulated fashion.

Interestingly, in *A Sort of Conscience*, Temple has reappraised Edward Gibbon Wakefield and sought to stress the fuller context of his life alongside the pursuit of his vision for the colonies. This has brought to the fore EGW's life within the context of his extended family, demonstrating that the Wakefields' own family-focussed enterprise contains similarities with many of the mid-nineteenth century Tasmanian forays into New Zealand.<sup>195</sup>

During the 1830s and 1840s EGW's brother, Felix Wakefield, was farming at Longford.<sup>196</sup> There his family doctor was William PATON.<sup>197</sup> PATON's daughter later married into the CLERKE family and herself made the voyage to Invercargill (chapter 3). When Felix returned to England in the late 1840s he worked for the Canterbury settlement where many of his suggestions for improvements to the scheme are said to have evolved from his Van Diemonian

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<sup>194</sup> *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 21 August 1839, p. 4.

<sup>195</sup> P Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002), p. 539.

<sup>196</sup> If the birth entries for his eight Tasmanian-born children are a reliable gauge, Felix Wakefield was at Longford between 1831-37, and in Launceston from at least 1841-46. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*.

<sup>197</sup> DH Pike, 'Wakefield, Waste Land and Empire', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 12, no. 3, March 1965, p. 79. See also Paton's assistance in Felix Wakefield's 1846 attempt to have his wife committed (P Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002), p. 416).

experience, so much so that he came to be nicknamed 'Felix Van Diemen'.<sup>198</sup> In 1851 he joined the Canterbury settlement in New Zealand before returning to England in 1854 'where he was made Principal Superintendent of the Army Works Corps in the Crimea'.<sup>199</sup> He returned to New Zealand in 1863. In a varied career Felix also worked for the government on the Otago goldfields and through this and his other roles in New Zealand he would have become acquainted with the sons of many of the Van Diemonians he had met in that colony during the 1830s and 1840s.

Ten years later Wairau would still have been interesting to the young ladies of the Longford area through their teacher Mira (sometimes Myra) Georgina BELLAIRS.<sup>200</sup> Miss BELLAIRS had a younger brother, Eugene, who led an exceptionally adventurous life which included Wairau and later the Eureka Stockade.<sup>201</sup> As one of the New Zealand Company surveyors who had been turned away by the Māori party, BELLAIRS was invited to join Captain Arthur Wakefield and the group from Nelson and return to Wairau.<sup>202</sup> When the firing started BELLAIRS managed to make his escape. The Wairau Affray took place on 17 June but BELLAIRS and the men he found himself with did not arrive back in Nelson until 7 July. Their return had been delayed by bad weather and the hospitality of the local Māori who escorted them and 'who had treated them most kindly as their guests'.<sup>203</sup> The dashing Eugene married Maria Margaret

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<sup>198</sup> In particular he suggested that a master map be prepared before any emigrants were sent out, and also argued 'that stockmen were the best pioneers of settlement by creating an economy in which agriculture could later flourish'. DH Pike, 'Wakefield, Waste Land and Empire', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 12, no. 3, March 1965, p. 81.

<sup>199</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 3, p. 540.

<sup>200</sup> Eliza Adams suggests a robust level of familiarity with and respect for Miss Bellairs and her mother, who maintained a correspondence with their ex-pupils (Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, [pre-August 1860], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42). Fanny and Kate Clerke also expressed intentions to visit the Bellairs in Hobart at different times during 1862 (Fanny Clerke to FG Clerke, 18 April 1862; and 20 November [1862]; QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47).

<sup>201</sup> Bellairs provided a deposition against several men at the Eureka Stockade. [www.eureka.ontrial](http://www.eureka.ontrial)

<sup>202</sup> EJ Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, J Stevens (ed.), (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1955), p. 285. See also, *Colonist*, 7 April 1897, p. 3.

<sup>203</sup> *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 8 July 1843, p. 278.



Priaulx in Launceston in January 1855.<sup>204</sup> He returned to New Zealand with his bride and there continued his career as a surveyor.<sup>205</sup>

Despite a belief that the Wairau Affray 'for a season stopped emigration to New Zealand', it did not halt all entrepreneurial interest in the region.<sup>206</sup> The New Zealand Company maintained its 'land for sale' advertisements in Hobart's *Courier*.<sup>207</sup> Similarly, in the months that followed Launceston merchants continued to export their flour and other comestibles to Nelson (as per the cargo of the *Sir John Franklin* listed above).<sup>208</sup>

One other pre-1855 military action provides Tasmania with a special relationship with New Zealand. That was the erection of a 12.2 metre freestone pillar in Hobart in 1850 to commemorate the 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment's part in the capture of Ruapekapeka in January 1846. In 1848 the regiment was posted to Hobart and the 'pillar was erected by the voluntary subscriptions of its officers and men to perpetuate the memory of 24 of its members who paid the supreme sacrifice in the New Zealand war'.<sup>209</sup> This pillar still stands in Hobart and is unique as Australia's first war memorial.

The first of the 99th Regiment's Ruapekapeka commemorations had taken place in New Zealand in January 1847 and also had a Van Diemonian connection. It was held at the iconic Barrett's Hotel in Wellington.<sup>210</sup> At Barrett's *mein host* was the redoubtable Swede, Charles Suisted, an ex-sea captain. Ten years before Suisted had been managing the Steam Packet Inn in

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<sup>204</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1855 223/37.

<sup>205</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 16 October 1911, p. 8.

<sup>206</sup> BA Heywood, *A Vacation Tour at the Antipodes: Through Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, in 1861-1862*, (London, Longman, 1863), p. 149.

<sup>207</sup> Advertisement. *Courier*, 21 July 1843, p. 1.

<sup>208</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 28 October 1843, p. 2.

<sup>209</sup> Address by Brigadier Dollery during the November 1950 centenary cited in, A Rowntree, *Battery Point Today and Yesterday*, (Hobart, Education Department, 1951), p. 134. Incidentally, Amy Rowntree was descended from Edward Casson Rowntree senior who went to, and returned from, New Zealand during the early 1860s.

<sup>210</sup> J Hopkins-Weise, 'Van Diemen's Land and the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 50, no. 1, March 2003, p. 53.

Launceston with the assistance of his father-in-law, Robert Richmond, before the extended Suisted-Richmond family moved on to New Zealand.<sup>211</sup>

### And so into the 1850s

Major governmental changes were in train for both colonies as the century moved into the 1850s. In January 1853 New Zealand was granted representative government with a governor and two houses of parliament, with representation from six separate provinces. In 1856 the country attained responsible government 'in tandem with ... the Australasian colonies'.<sup>212</sup>

In 1850 the British parliament passed the Australian Colonies Government Act. As soon as the news arrived Van Diemonians began celebrating their great expectations of the 'advent of free institutions and responsible government in Tasmania' – even though responsible government would not eventuate for another five years.<sup>213</sup> In February 1851 the *Launceston Examiner* reported on the 'Public Rejoicings' in that city which were celebrated 'in a manner highly creditable to their notions of order and good taste'.<sup>214</sup> 'The Dinner' was followed by 'The Illuminations', the 'Meeting of the Children', and the cricket match.<sup>215</sup> The cricket in particular was expanded upon in the editorial of the *Cornwall Chronicle*. The otherwise vituperative pen of its editor, William Lushington Goodwin, used this match to define Tasmania's 'national character [of] hospitality and generous intercourse towards strangers'. This, Goodwin felt, was 'proof certainly, that the general community is not impregnated with the vices of the felon importations'. He went on to predict with confidence that 'the stain so unwittingly impressed upon it, will be blotted out'.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> J Bremner, 'Charles Suisted' in GJ Griffiths (ed.), *The Advance Guard: Series 2*, (Dunedin, *Otago Daily Times*, 1974), p. 117.

<sup>212</sup> P Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 67.

<sup>213</sup> It has been confidently asserted that 'In no other British possession did the advent of Responsible Government mean more to the people than in Tasmania'. FC Green (ed.), *Tasmania: A Century of Responsible Government 1856-1956*, (Hobart, Tasmanian Government Printer, 1956), introduction.

<sup>214</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 15 February 1851, p. 5.

<sup>215</sup> Australia's first First Class cricket match, played between Tasmania and Victoria (Tasmania won).

<sup>216</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 19 February 1851, pp. 108-109. For Lushington see, CJ Craig, 'Goodwin, William Lushington (1798-1862)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.anu.edu.au)

Goodwin was premature in his confidence and instead it can be argued that the memory of Tasmania's penal settlement was often perpetuated longest by those who had not experienced it. Convictism and its issues were to largely define the public relationship between Tasmania and New Zealand throughout the nineteenth century. Outsiders continued to feel impelled to describe Tasmania's history as a series of negatives – as does this pre-cessation description, published in 1848:

It was in the year 1803 that this island was first thought of as a penal settlement, to which the more refractory of the convicts of Sydney might be transported. In 1804, 400 convicts were sent there, and the site of Hobart Town fixed upon. The Colony at first suffered great hardships,<sup>217</sup> so much so, that eighteenpence [*sic*] per pound was given for kangaroo flesh. Three years afterwards, cattle and sheep were introduced. It was not until 1821 that emigration set in; there were then about 3000 free persons, including settlers, soldiers, &c., and nearly 5000 hardened and ill-disposed convicts. In 1836, there were 26000 free settlers and about 15000 convicts; since that time the population has decreased. In 1831, a typhus fever carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. No emigrants left England for Van Diemen's Land in 1846, and only eight in 1847; while on the other land, no less than 2751 left it for Port Philip. [*sic*] The colonists proved themselves bad farmers, slovenly and unskilful; while the moral contamination that crept into the colony by the vast number of incorrigible convicts, added improvidence, drunkenness, and other vices; many of these convicts escaped into the bush, where they led, and it may be said, still live a wild life, preying upon the poor unfortunate farmer or traveller, and often adding murder to robbery.<sup>218</sup>

The added underlining accentuates the stress on the worst aspects of Van Diemonian life even though this account was published in 1848 after 45 years

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<sup>217</sup> Not at all unusual in this part of the world. Sydney's First Fleeters underwent the same sort of hardship, as did New Zealand settlers, such as the Scots in Otago, who were 'dependent for survival upon the fish and potatoes of the local Maori and the wheat and vegetables of Johnny Jones of Waikouaiti'. T Brooking, *And Captain of Their Souls: An interpretative essay on the life and times of Captain William Cargill*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, Dunedin, 1984), p. 75.

<sup>218</sup> *The Emigrant's Friend: or Authentic Guide to South Australia, including Sydney; Port Philip, or Australia Felix; Western Australia, or Swan River Colony; New South Wales; Van Dieman's [sic] Land; and New Zealand.*, ('Originally published in London in 1848. Recreated by Reader's Digest Sydney'; original in Mitchell Library, Sydney), pp. 29-30.

of Tasmanian development and consolidation.<sup>219</sup> Whether deliberate, or merely extremely lazy journalism (for example, there is no evidence of a typhus epidemic or of any major population decrease) such was, and would remain, the opinion of the British world where Tasmania was concerned. It is little wonder that New Zealand would begin its official relationship with Van Diemen's Land by looking askance at its subjects.

1850 became 1851 and continued as a time of major change for Van Diemen's Land. 1851 was the year in which the local anti-transportation movement burgeoned into the Australasian League. This was the first 'national' organisation formed in Australia and it included New Zealand. In 1851 when the Reverend John West and William Pritchard WESTON went to Melbourne for the League's first intercolonial conference, they took their locally designed banner with them to present to the other delegates. In return the ladies of Melbourne produced a duplicate silk banner for the Van Diemonians to take home again and to this was added an additional star to represent New Zealand.<sup>220</sup> New Zealand had joined the League, or rather a Canterbury contingent had been 'called by Mr. Godley, [and] adopted and subscribed the engagement'.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> For a more positive view of Van Diemen's Land's earlier decades ('In 1835 the island was a thriving centre for investors and speculators ...', etc.) see, J Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011), p. 16.

<sup>220</sup> The five stars represent New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania. According to John West: 'Thus the five colonies, answering to the stars of the Southern Cross, had raised the sign of hope and union'. J West, *The History of Tasmania*, (Launceston, Henry Dowling, 1852; facsimile edition, Australia, Angus & Robertson, 1971), p. 240.

<sup>221</sup> J West, *The History of Tasmania*, (Launceston, Henry Dowling, 1852; facsimile edition, Australia, Angus & Robertson, 1971), p. 240. 'Mr. Godley' was John Robert Godley the 'founder of the Canterbury Settlement' and a close associate of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. G Hensley, 'Godley, John Robert', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. [www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies)



**Figure 4:** Australasian League banner, 1851, with its extra star for New Zealand. This banner is believed to be the forerunner of the current Australian flag.<sup>222</sup> (QVM.1994.H.0744, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston)

Although the New Zealand Company position was unequivocally anti-transportation, New Zealand had nevertheless already faced the twin scares of the 'Parkhurst Boys' and the Colonial Office's suggestion in 1849 that New Zealand might like to take convicts.<sup>223</sup> When two parties of boys from the Parkhurst penitentiary were sent out to New Zealand in 1842-1843 'their arrival was greeted with dismay'.<sup>224</sup> In the new world of New Zealand and in the opinion of most settlers, there would (ideally) be no place for 'for the

<sup>222</sup> Note that there is also some similarity to New Zealand's first flags: the version designed by the NSW governor in 1833 with the Union Jack in the top left corner, and the United Tribes' Flag of 1834 with its (in some versions) eight-pointed stars, albeit differently executed. K Pollock, 'Flags – New Zealand flag', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. [www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/flags](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/flags) See also, AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, pp. 694-696.

<sup>223</sup> At various times Tasmania was used to indicate the supposed material advantages that might accrue to a colony if they accepted convicts. However, New Zealand was well aware that this was not the only picture. For example, 'Van Diemen's Land with its one public road of one hundred and twenty miles, the fruit of six and forty years of prison labour, and achieved (many of its lengths) at the cost of six thousand pounds a mile'. From the *New Zealander*, reproduced in *The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, Friday 7 December 1849, p. 4.

<sup>224</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 308.

undeserving poor, the indolent, the criminal and the morally lax'.<sup>225</sup> As the Wellington press stressed at the time:

We are opposed to the convict system in every shape and form, and the immigrants to New Zealand generally, were induced to come here under the impression that they would be free from it. We hope that at least, the settlements in Cook's Straits will continue so, and that the BOON of Parkhurst seedlings, will be expended upon Auckland. But if we were to be a convict settlement let it be openly declared ... let us not have *seedlings*.<sup>226</sup>

The tone of the rhetoric used to describe the possible effect on society of the Parkhurst boys was much the same as that used by Van Diemonian anti-transportationists. This rhetoric stressed, above all evils, the moral risk to society posed by the depravity of convicts.<sup>227</sup> The threat of potential contamination to Australasia's deserving free settlers was played to the hilt and eventually produced the desired result. Although the campaign in Van Diemen's Land worked and achieved its aim of the cessation of transportation, it left behind a legacy of hysteria where convicts were concerned which did no favours to Tasmania's long-term image.

New Zealand played the same refrain. A petition from Cook Strait Māori noted that they already had first-hand experience of convictism from 'the testimony of our own countrymen who have visited Port Jackson – and Hobart Town'.<sup>228</sup> They were well-aware that convicts were second-class citizens, akin to 'slaves' and war captives, and did not want to see this type of settlement duplicated in

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<sup>225</sup> T Brooking, *And Captain of Their Souls: An interpretative essay on the life and times of Captain William Cargill*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1984), p. 77.

<sup>226</sup> *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 13 December 1843, p. 2.

<sup>227</sup> West did not stop at his description of convicts. He felt that Van Diemen's Land had also produced: 'A company of exiles, overawed by dissolute soldiery, interspersed here and there with few persons of a superior class ... governed by despotism'. J West, *The History of Tasmania*, (Launceston, Henry Dowling, 1852; Australia, facsimile edition, Angus & Robertson, 1971), p. 522.

<sup>228</sup> CO 209/73 (AJCP), cited in G Picker, 'A State of Infancy: The Anti-Transportation Movement in New Zealand, 1848-1852', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 34, no. 2, October 2000, p. 228. John West also reported New Zealand Māori chiefs as telling the Home government: 'Send us gentlemen, but send us no convicts' (J West, *The History of Tasmania*, (Launceston, Henry Dowling, 1852; facsimile edition, Australia, Angus & Robertson, 1971), p. 218).

New Zealand.<sup>229</sup> For Governor Grey too it was of conclusive concern that convict men would find the temptation irresistible 'to get into the interior with the native population and cohabit with their women'.<sup>230</sup>

Transportation to Van Diemen's Land ended in 1853 and responsible government became a full-blown reality in 1856. That same year Captain Butler Stoney, in his preface to *A Residence in Tasmania*, felt optimistic enough to state:

Little is known of Tasmania beyond its reputé as a convict settlement; but five years have now elapsed since it ceased to be one; and as the traces of its former state are fast disappearing, it is to be hoped that the recollection of it will also vanish. The free-born sons of Britain have flocked to its shores, carrying with them the noble characteristics of the mother country, and by their unceasing perseverance and industry adding to the lustre of their race.<sup>231</sup>

As with many of the pronouncements made at that time this was by no means the full story and other aspects will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

To conclude and to introduce the main body of this thesis, what better than to use Meikle's succinct précis for the period immediately following 1855:

From the middle of the nineteenth century until 1890, most of the Australian colonies enjoyed a long economic boom. Tasmania was the exception, going into a downturn after gaining self-government in 1856 and remaining in recession for at least the next twenty years. Those who fled the depression and hardship in Tasmania for the possibility of wealth and prosperity helped to build another Australia.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> P Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 29.

<sup>230</sup> AGL Shaw, *Convicts & the Colonies*, (London, Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 331. Note, Ceylon and Mauritius also said 'no'.

<sup>231</sup> HB Stoney, *A Residence in Tasmania: with A Descriptive Tour Through the Island, from Macquarie Island to Circular Head*, (London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1856), pp. v-vi.

<sup>232</sup> B Meikle, 'Hard Times in the Golden Age: The Long Depression of Tasmania, 1857-1875', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, v. 15, 2010, p. 39.

... and also helped to build New Zealand. This thesis will argue that Tasmania was an exception to mainland Australia in other ways, as seen through the experiences of those Tasmanians from the 1855-1875 research group who crossed the Tasman Sea.



## CHAPTER 3

### The Correspondents: Kate CLERKE, Eliza ADAMS and their families

This chapter will discuss the history of the CLERKE and ADAMS families in relation to their positions within the Tasmania to New Zealand experience of the mid-nineteenth century. Its purpose is to establish the particular nature of middle-class Tasmanian people movement to New Zealand, and specifically to provide an overview of the two main types of middle-class Tasmanian movement which occurred during the periods immediately before and during the New Zealand gold rushes of the 1860s.

The CLERKE and ADAMS families each illustrate a different phase of cross-Tasman movement during this period. Not only are these phases predicated on the state of New Zealand at the time, but also on the status of the CLERKE and ADAMS families within Tasmania. As will be demonstrated through their family histories, these two families might both have been middle class but that was not enough to make their reasons for going to New Zealand and their subsequent experiences there in any way identical.

The first part of this chapter will establish the position of Kate CLERKE and Eliza ADAMS within the Tasmanian middle class. The two subsequent sections will deal with the New Zealand experience of each family in turn, as narratives advancing from one person to the next in the manner of family histories. The stories of the CLERKE and ADAMS families provide the framework into which can be slotted the experiences of all the other cross-Tasman movers in this research sample.

#### The Tasmanian middle class

The majority of the friends and family discussed in Eliza ADAMS' letters were not in that first rung of society defined by Reynolds in 'The Tasmanian

Gentry'.<sup>233</sup> Nevertheless the 'gentry' names ARCHER, SYNNOT, LORD, STIEGLITZ, REIBEY, WALKER and GROOM were all mentioned in her correspondence. Of the two families the CLERKEs came closest to gentry through their successful landholdings and their subsequent intermarriage with the ARCHERs.<sup>234</sup> Despite this connection and the success of the CLERKEs, both they and the ADAMS were essentially middle-class. The state of being middle-class is outlined below through examples. In particular the CLERKEs were middle-class because of their strong work ethic and because they encouraged their male children to develop useful professional skills. Unlike the men who became Van Diemonian 'gentry' Alexander CLERKE did not seek to amass ever greater land holdings which would in turn be left to his landowning sons.

Both the CLERKE and the ADAMS *paterfamilias* were British emigrants who had arrived free and taken up land in the colony during the 1820s and 1830s and their children were all born in Van Diemen's Land. As Reynolds notes, gentry or not these landowning families were quintessentially conservative.<sup>235</sup> Kate and Eliza were no exception.<sup>236</sup> They were especially concerned that their friends behave as ladies and gentlemen and particularly that they be committed Christians, preferably 'converted' Christians as Kate and Eliza were themselves.<sup>237</sup> Although Kate was almost eight months younger than Eliza, she

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<sup>233</sup> H Reynolds, "Men of Substance and Deservedly Good Repute": The Tasmanian Gentry 1856-1875', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, v. 15, no. 3, 1969, pp. 61-72.

<sup>234</sup> 'Extensive intermarriage ... enmeshed the prominent landowning families in an intricate web of kinship which was one of the most important features of Tasmanian social history.' H Reynolds, "Men of Substance and Deservedly Good Repute": The Tasmanian Gentry 1856-1875', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, v. 15, no. 3, 1969, p. 63.

<sup>235</sup> H Reynolds, 'Regionalism in Nineteenth century Tasmania', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 17, no. 1, July 1969, p. 16.

<sup>236</sup> McMahon defines three orders of women in the early Australian colonies: the female, the woman and the lady. A McMahon, 'The Lady in Early Tasmanian Society: A Psychological Portrait', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 26, no. 1, March 1979, p. 6.

<sup>237</sup> This conversion probably occurred in the very early 1860s, when Kate and Eliza both also took the pledge (teetotal). Their Longford mentor, the Reverend Alfred Stackhouse, was a particularly strong local advocate of abstinence (R Kilner, 'Temperance and the Liquor Question in Tasmania in the 1850s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 20, no. 2, June 1973, p. 87).

set the tone for their correspondence. Kate's particular interest was Eliza's spiritual wellbeing and Eliza was not above flattering Kate in this respect.<sup>238</sup>

None of the letters in Kate CLERKE's archive contain any mention of convicts or gold rushers and there are only sketchy references to servants, though Eliza ADAMS was not averse to mentioning crime.<sup>239</sup> She did refer to 'the humbler class of people' while she was still in Tasmania, but only as possible subjects for religious conversion.<sup>240</sup> If her New Zealand letters are interpreted literally, Eliza similarly never met any Māori people though she quickly learnt Māori words in common usage (specifically *whare* and *toetoe*).<sup>241</sup> As with all Kate CLERKE's correspondents, Eliza's letters were concerned with their middle-class friends and acquaintances.



**Figure 5:** Mountford today. This Georgian style house is on a terrace overlooking the South Esk River, with a view of the township of Longford in the left middle distance. The ballroom, with its French doors opening onto a side lawn, can be accessed from this veranda. (J Paterson, 2011.)

<sup>238</sup> 'My heart is so cold and dead as regards spiritual things to what it once was, when I had you my own dear Kate to cheer help and advise me, I see so much insincerity and irreligion here [Eliza was staying in Launceston at the time] that it makes me feel sick at heart, and persuades me more and more, that there is no one whom I could ever love and trust in as my first and truest friend Kate.' Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 29 August [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>239</sup> Eliza ADAMS to Kate Clerke, 14 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47 2/42. Specifically the news of the murders of James Fullerton, Esq., Mr Sullivan and Isabella Webster (or Brown) at Parkmount Farm, Longford, in August 1862. Note, this crime was also reported in New Zealand (*Otago Daily Times*, 23 September 1862, p. 5).

<sup>240</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 18 November 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>241</sup> Eliza gave *whare* the meaning of a 'hut made of a sort of grass collected "tohi-tohi" [sic]'. Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 13 March 1866, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

Despite both families owning rural properties (albeit relatively small), mixing with the gentry and maintaining positions of some moral superiority in the Longford area, these were people who also expected to work for their living. This was in spite of the CLERKEs enjoying a life of relative comfort at Mountford (for example, a mirrored ballroom was added during their time there).<sup>242</sup>

By 1860 Mrs CLERKE and her Mountford servants were producing enough excess butter and other comestibles to help provender the settlers of Southland in New Zealand. In June 1861 the CLERKEs sent butter and barley to Launceston which was destined 'for Invercargill'.<sup>243</sup> Mrs CLERKE's efforts were in effect her daughters' 'pin money'. In September 1862 when Kate CLERKE was at school in Hobart, her mother wrote, 'My dear Child you must not want any necessary article in a strange place for fear I cannot afford it I can easily borrow on my [butter] so you must let me know what you want'.<sup>244</sup> In July 1862 Alexander CLERKE had filled much of the Invercargill-bound *Almeda* with a varied cargo which included: '14 pkgs bacon, 22 ditto butter' and '3 cases jam'.<sup>245</sup> CLERKE's various New Zealand shipments fit neatly with the observations of an English tourist who stated that when he visited in late 1861, the 'chief means of wealth in Tasmania [were] its exports of timber, wool, and agricultural, garden, and dairy produce, and whale fishery'.<sup>246</sup> An interesting list,

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<sup>242</sup> Between November 1829 and February 1832. JR Briscoe, *A sense of duty: The Clerkes, An Anglo Irish Family in Colonial Tasmania*, (Master Humanities thesis, University of Tasmania, 1996), p. 87.

<sup>243</sup> 29 June 1861. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020. Selling produce locally had been going on for some time, and six months before Mrs Clerke had sent off 'her first load of cherries' (14 December 1860. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020). This sort of feminine enterprise was also a part of the New Zealand family landscape, for example see the description of Adela Stewart's produce in the Bay of Plenty (J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 395).

<sup>244</sup> FG Clerke to Kate Clerke, 29 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/48.

<sup>245</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 15 July 1862, p. 4. Note, the production of raspberry jam and vinegar at Mountford was also mentioned (FG Clerke to Kate Clerke, 18 January 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/48).

<sup>246</sup> BA Heywood, *A Vacation Tour at the Antipodes: Through Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, in 1861-1862*, (London, Longman, 1863), p. 85.

given that the garden and dairy produce were largely the preserve of the landowner's wife.<sup>247</sup>

Such overtly productive work was not necessarily expected of the CLERKE daughters. They were being prepared for good marriages and the 'idleness' of drawing room life described by McMahon in 'The Lady in Early Tasmanian Society'.<sup>248</sup> Nowhere in their letters do they indicate that they assisted their mother in her endeavours. The boys however, were encouraged to learn skills useful to the family enterprise, with no expectation that they would inherit land.<sup>249</sup> Alexander CLERKE trained up his sons to take advantage of his speculations: William was initially set to flour milling, John went to sea, and Thomas learnt how to manage a business. Only the much younger Alick enjoyed any flexibility in his choice of career and thereafter his father left him to his own devices.<sup>250</sup>

By contrast the ADAMS family existed at the opposite end of Tasmania's middle class, despite the fact that their father was a gentleman. Their genteel poverty informed the relationship between the CLERKE girls and the ADAMS daughters, with Ellen ARCHER (*née* CLERKE) erring towards *noblesse oblige* when she explained why she extended invitations to them and ended with: 'I think they are all well deserving'.<sup>251</sup> Despite their approbation for the ADAMS girls, the CLERKE daughters did not think so highly of Eliza's brothers, and her

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<sup>247</sup> An economic imperative demonstrated as common throughout the settler world. J McAloon, 'Family, wealth and inheritance in a settler society: the South Island of New Zealand c. 1865-c. 1930', *Journal of Historical Geography*, v. 25, no. 2, April 1999, p. 201.

<sup>248</sup> A McMahon, 'The Lady in Early Tasmanian Society: A Psychological Portrait', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 26, no. 1, March 1979, pp. 11-12.

<sup>249</sup> Even Kate Clerke's future father-in-law, the wealthier and less speculative William Pritchard Weston, considered his son should have a profession and suggested medicine as an option (which was not taken up, and Edward became a landowner). William Weston to Edward Weston, [1845], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/8.

<sup>250</sup> Alick Clerke was sent to the Launceston Church Grammar School and then to Ireland to train as a lawyer. The law did not suit and Alick took up engineering instead. He married, and worked in India (Lucy Clerke to Kate Weston, 2 February 1877, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/26) and in South Australia as a surveyor-engineer. Alick did not go to New Zealand, though he did consider it briefly in the late 1870s when he lost his job in South Australia (Lucy Clerke to Kate Weston, 8 March 1879, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/31). Instead Alick returned to Launceston in 1879, coincidentally after the death of his father (JR Briscoe, *A sense of duty: The Clerkes, An Anglo Irish Family in Colonial Tasmania*, (Master Humanities thesis, University of Tasmania, 1996), p. 87).

<sup>251</sup> Ellen Archer to Kate Clerke, 19 September 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/43.

mother was rarely mentioned at all. Instead it was Mr ADAMS' status as a gentleman which accounted for their acceptance of the family. Fanny CLERKE defined their feelings in May 1862 when she wrote, 'I am very sorry about the Adam[s] circumstances on account of the poor old man, and the girls'.<sup>252</sup>

As the wife of a gentleman farmer so poor that the 1862 theft of some flour was a cause for commiseration, it is probable that Eliza's mother, Jane ADAMS, also worked outside the home.<sup>253</sup> In August 1862 Eliza wrote that her mother and her sister, Mary, had been away from home for two whole months staying with the Francis GROOMs at Harefield near St Marys.<sup>254</sup> While the GROOMs were friends of the ADAMS there may have been another reason for this visit.<sup>255</sup> It was winter and work at Newry would have slowed for Mrs ADAMS, and Harefield would have provided a welcome break from penury. Tasmanian estates did take in impoverished ladies, often to assist with those household tasks which were beyond the efforts of the lady of the house. Major sewing projects were one such example. In the 1860s Sarah Leake of Rosedale at Campbell Town, recorded in her diary the sympathy she felt for the 'poor lady' who lived-in for six weeks to undertake their seasonal sewing.<sup>256</sup>

When she left for New Zealand in May 1865, Eliza ADAMS was twenty years old. Middle class, poor, and single, she faced a Tasmanian working life as a paid companion or governess. Almost three years earlier Eliza had been offered a position with the STOREY family at Henbury in the Fingal Valley, but 'Mamma told me that I would have to do much needlework beside, so she decided that I should not go, – I need not tell you how sorry I was'.<sup>257</sup> Similarly, Eliza's extended stay at Crosby Lodge in Launceston between August and

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<sup>252</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 13 May 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>253</sup> 'They cannot afford to lose anything poor people'. Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 24 August 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>254</sup> Eliza Adams' sisters were rarely mentioned in her letters, except for Louisa who was closest to her in age.

<sup>255</sup> The two families were obviously close, as Henry Cay Adams stood sponsor for Arthur Champion Groom at his christening in November 1852. FG Groom, *The Grooms of Harefield*, (Tasmania, self-published, c. 1985), p. 69.

<sup>256</sup> SE Leake, Journal, 1 October 1862-7 June 1876, Leake Family Papers, L1/H81, K1, Royal Society of Tasmania Collection, Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania.

<sup>257</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 14 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

December 1864 was probably not a social visit.<sup>258</sup> She may have been invited as a companion for her new 'friend', Kate DOUGLAS, though she never mentioned her hosts by name.<sup>259</sup>

The differences in opportunity between Eliza ADAMS and Kate CLERKE are indicated in various other ways. Regardless of any outside work, Eliza ADAMS was kept busy at home with her dressmaking skills in regular demand and her opportunities for letter writing often limited.<sup>260</sup> Occasionally she executed small commissions for Kate such as making her a net, where Eliza enumerated the cost and added 'I have enclosed the remaining sixpence'.<sup>261</sup> Despite these occasional mentions Eliza's letters to Kate tended to concentrate on her leisure pursuits, thereby contradicting the more circumscribed home life Eliza later described to her descendants.<sup>262</sup> One essential difference between the two girls was that Eliza had finished her schooling before 1862, most probably around May 1860 when Miss BELLAIRS moved her school from Longford.<sup>263</sup> Kate however, continued her education at Mrs DE GILLERN's boarding establishment in Hobart. Eliza did feel the weight of Kate's wealth on their friendship, shown by the way she phrased her thanks for the presents she received:

I must scold you for your kindness in sending the stamp, it does not say much for the depth of my friendship, that I could not find a stamp to write to my friend with, but I think I know your motive and so thank you very much.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> Crosby Lodge at 172 St John Street was owned by Captain George Gilmore. As well as the main house, there was a second house on the property that was rented out and it is not clear whether Eliza was staying with the Gilmores or the Freemans who were leasing there in 1864, or with another family altogether. J Gill, *The Story of the Launceston Homoeopathic Hospital*, (Launceston, self-published, 1989), p. 4. See also, *Hobart Town Gazette*, 25 November 1864, p. 2178.

<sup>259</sup> Kate Douglas, daughter of Henry Douglas of Whiteford Hills, whence Eliza also had a pressing invitation to visit. Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 3 December [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>260</sup> For example, 'I have been very much occupied lately in making dresses &c, that I have really had no time to write'. Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 18 November [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>261</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, [undated], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>262</sup> Personal communication, Maureen Powles, family history researcher.

<sup>263</sup> Date implied, in Rachel Kilpatrick to Kate Clerke, 3 June 1860, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/41.

<sup>264</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, [December, 1861], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

### Built on good foundations: the CLERKE story

Alexander CLERKE of Mountford had arrived in Van Diemen's Land during the late 1820s with advantages which materially assisted his start in that colony. According to his biographer, the CLERKEs were Anglo-Irish, 'a comfortable professional, well connected (middle class rather than gentry) family from County Cork' where Alexander had trained as an engineer.<sup>265</sup> As with many of the men who looked to New Zealand in the 1850s, Alexander CLERKE was by nature an entrepreneur. He had already worked in Canada, reputedly as a boatman on the St Lawrence River.<sup>266</sup> He returned to Ireland and married Frances Gertrude Sweetnam, before migrating to Van Diemen's Land in 1829 with the capital required to secure a land grant. Undeterred by shipwreck, Alexander left Frances in Hobart in the care of the Governor and Mrs Arthur (indicating that the CLERKEs already had useful connections in the colony<sup>267</sup>) and 'returned home and obtained compensation to the extent of £500'.<sup>268</sup> In Van Diemen's Land his life settled into land acquisition, consolidation, speculation, and politics.<sup>269</sup>

In 1839 CLERKE explored the Don and Forth areas on the colony's North West Coast and was the first to buy land at the Leven.<sup>270</sup> James Fenton evocatively described CLERKE at that time:

Mr. Clerke's eyes – he had two until he lost one in February 1853 – rested on the spot, and he bought it – small blame to him – for he was investing his capital in land at the time. Mr. Clerke was not a man to crush the poor and needy, although he always kept an eye to No. 1. I

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<sup>265</sup> JR Briscoe, *A sense of duty: The Clerkes, An Anglo Irish Family in Colonial Tasmania*, (Master Humanities thesis, University of Tasmania, 1996), abstract.

<sup>266</sup> S and B Bennett, *Biographical Register of the Tasmanian Parliament 1851-1960*, (Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1980), p. 34.

<sup>267</sup> During the two years he was away Mrs Clerke worked as Matron of the Female Orphan School in Hobart. CSO 284/52 cited in, JR Briscoe, *A sense of duty: The Clerkes, An Anglo Irish Family in Colonial Tasmania*, (Master Humanities thesis, University of Tasmania, 1996), pp. 17-20.

<sup>268</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 22 March 1877, p. 2.

<sup>269</sup> Clerke was a member of the Tasmanian House of Assembly from 1857-1860. FC Green (ed.), *Tasmania: A Century of Responsible Government 1856-1956*, (Hobart, Government Printer, 1956), p. 309.

<sup>270</sup> S and B Bennett, *Biographical Register of the Tasmanian Parliament 1851-1960*, (Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1980), p. 34.



have often known him to help others in a manner that mostly resulted in mutual benefit – blessing “him that gives and him that takes”.<sup>271</sup>

On the undeveloped North West Coast CLERKE was in company with others who also went on to develop New Zealand connections, such as the BUTTONS, the DOUGLAS family, Dr CASEY and the Oakdens. It was here that CLERKE established the pattern he would continue in New Zealand. In the early 1850s he built the ‘Devonshire Stores’ on the Esplanade at Devonport, reputedly worked by his sons John and William.<sup>272</sup> He also transferred his Mountford carpenters to the North West Coast and developed a boat building industry there.<sup>273</sup>

When Henry Cay ADAMS took over the neighbouring Newry Farm in January 1857, Mountford was in full production and about to provide Alexander CLERKE with his natural progression into New Zealand. CLERKE made at least five voyages across the Tasman, with a possible sixth and seventh in late 1862 and 1863-1864.<sup>274</sup> The ‘Mountford Day Book’ defined his third voyage as encompassing 3 November 1859 to 7 January 1860, so by inference his second visit was that recorded during the winter of 1858, and his first must have taken place before that.<sup>275</sup>

Given his vaunted business acumen it is clear that CLERKE would not have invested in New Zealand until he could establish security through some form of legal title.<sup>276</sup> The Murihiku Purchase, whereby a large tract in the southern part of the South Island was purchased for the Crown, had occurred in August

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<sup>271</sup> J Fenton, *Bushlife in Tasmania*, (London 1891; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, n.d.), p. 99.

<sup>272</sup> C Ramsay, *With the Pioneers*, (Launceston, Telegraph Printery, 1980), pp. 79, and 205.

<sup>273</sup> Alexander Clerke eventually retired to Ulverstone after the sale of Mountford to the MacKinnons in 1876.

<sup>274</sup> A possible visit is mentioned in 1862 (Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 7 October 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47), and Fanny, writing from Invercargill, referred to the non-arrival of letters from there that ‘we wrote by papa’ (Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 16 November [1863-1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47).

<sup>275</sup> 15 October 1858. Mountford Day Book’ (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG.

<sup>276</sup> ‘A shrewd man of business, though exceedingly careful of his means was always found to be a straightforward and just man, of which illustrations are freely quoted by those who knew him best.’ Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 22 March 1877, p. 2.

1853.<sup>277</sup> Invercargill itself was named in January 1856 and the first sale of town sections took place in March 1857.<sup>278</sup> It is probable that Alexander CLERKE made his first visit there shortly after this date, if only because his subsequent trips indicate regular annual visits.<sup>279</sup> His family company 'Clerke & Co' was already in existence in Launceston at the beginning of 1858.<sup>280</sup> By mid-1859 Alexander CLERKE was personally registered at Invercargill as the owner of 420 acres in the Oteramika Hundred.<sup>281</sup>

Early Invercargill would have presented CLERKE with the same issues he had already faced on Tasmania's North West Coast. In 1857 Invercargill had boasted only a survey office, a store and an accommodation house.<sup>282</sup> Two years later it was described as still much 'covered with dense bush' and heavy timber.<sup>283</sup> Nevertheless, virtually as soon as Invercargill was established, Southlanders began agitating for separation from Otago – from the stranglehold of the Dunedin *élite* which they felt was usurping revenue away from Invercargill (ironically only one year before, Invercargill had been named in honour of that particular *élite*).<sup>284</sup> In March 1861 it was announced that Southland would become a separate province with Invercargill as its capital,

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<sup>277</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, p. 601.

<sup>278</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, p. 173.

<sup>279</sup> Neither the 'Mountford Day Book' nor newspaper shipping lists provide a date for this first crossing.

<sup>280</sup> Based in Cimitiere Street and advertising for wheat and oats (*Launceston Examiner*, 11 February 1858, p. 1) and later shipping ninety bags of flour at least as far as Melbourne (*Cornwall Chronicle*, 29 September 1858, p. 4).

<sup>281</sup> *Otago Witness*, 9 July 1859, p. 2. Now in the Seaward Downs area near Invercargill; for a 1905 description of its whereabouts see, *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Otago and Southland Provincial Districts*, (Wellington, Cyclopedia Company Ltd., 1905), v. 4, p. 895. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

<sup>282</sup> L Esler, *150 Years Invercargill 1856-2006*, (Invercargill, self-published, 2006), p. 25.

<sup>283</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Otago and Southland Provincial Districts*, (Wellington, Cyclopedia Company Ltd., 1905), v. 4, p. 861. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

<sup>284</sup> Named in honour of William Cargill at a function in Dunedin on 17 January 1856. Tom Brooking, *And Captain of Their Souls: An interpretative essay on the life and times of Captain William Cargill*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1984), p. 115. See also p. 129, Cargill himself is reputed to have stated that the movement was the fault of Australians: 'Old Sydney whalers who operated out of Jacob's Creek, a few 'hardy squatters', and a band of 'dangerous opportunist' working men from Melbourne were held responsible for the separatist movement'.

incidentally during the same year that the gold rushes began in earnest in Otago.<sup>285</sup>

As an example of CLERKE's mercantile activities, in 1860 he organised two New Zealand trips by the *Northern Light*. The first left in September 1860 and the second in January 1861 and their cargoes reflect what other Launceston merchants were also exporting in the months that followed.<sup>286</sup> The cargo for the September sailing comprised: 205 bags of flour, 1 wooden store in frame, 5 cases of iron roofing, 8 cases of nails and screws, 1 parcel and one bundle of iron, 1 weighing machine and weights, 4000 bricks, lime, 8 carts, 5 kegs of butter, 4 sets of harness, 60 bales of hay, and 12 horses.<sup>287</sup>

CLERKE was not only interested in New Zealand. By October 1862 he was planning new ventures:

And now dear child I will tell you something you must keep to yourself at present poor indefatigable Papa talks of going to Queensland to look for some suitable station to [keep Thee] in [?], with two other parties, at this hot season it will be a trying undertaking but he seems determined to go, of course he has no idea of living there but should they get one some of the young men will have the option of going there, God grant it may be a good speculation, but I am frightened at all new speculations.<sup>288</sup>

In these activities Alexander CLERKE represents the first phase of cross-Tasman movement by members of Tasmania's middle class, a movement of the 1850s and 1860s unrelated to the rush for gold and instead focussed squarely on trade and land. It was a movement promoted by men already well-established in their home colony who, through their energy and capital, acted as catalysts for others to follow in their wake. Alexander CLERKE's own

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<sup>285</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Otago and Southland Provincial Districts*, (Wellington, Cyclopedica Company Ltd., 1905), v. 4, p. 779. See also, AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, p. 173.

<sup>286</sup> 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG.

<sup>287</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 29 September 1860, p. 2.

<sup>288</sup> FG Clerke to Kate Clerke, 23 October [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/48. Note, no further references to Queensland business opportunities have been located (unless John Clerke's presence there in 1874 was related in some way).

voyages to New Zealand appear solely in the light of inspections, to check on his investments and to augment them.<sup>289</sup> While he owned land in Southland and continued to appear on the Maitua electoral roll until 1875 he never lived there himself though he encouraged others to do so.<sup>290</sup>

Only two of Alexander CLERKE's three older sons went to Invercargill, though in September 1859 it had been intended that William, as the eldest, would 'remove to New Zealand' and take his part in the family enterprise.<sup>291</sup> By 1859 William had already been given the operation of his father's Newry Mills, a useful precursor to a New Zealand career as indicated by the CLAYTON family experience (chapter 2).<sup>292</sup> However William CLERKE's subsequent fall from parental grace can be tracked through letters in the Weston Collection and in newspapers of the time. These outline his disobedience, irresponsibility, and a willingness to be incited to foolish acts by his particular friend, Eliza's brother Fred ADAMS.<sup>293</sup> Fred caused William to assault John Ritchie in November 1862 when he repeated comments made by Ritchie, which linked William's name with that of the daughter of an ex-convict (albeit a successful ex-convict).<sup>294</sup> William considered this assault a mere point of honour.<sup>295</sup> In attempting to avoid the ensuing fine, he transferred his assets back to his father and was declared bankrupt. This did not absolve him from the fine and instead

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<sup>289</sup> The final entries in the 'Mountford Day Book' show Alexander Clerke exercising control through a flow of letters. For example, 'Wrote this morning a long letter to Tom [his son, Thomas Clerke] which forwarded by Sheppherd [sic] to be handed to Captain Robertson'. 23 July 1861, 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020.

<sup>290</sup> 'Otago Nominal Index, University of Otago'. <http://marvin.otago.ac.nz>

<sup>291</sup> 25 September 1859. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG. This mill was located immediately below Mountford and would have been visible from the house.

<sup>292</sup> Advertisement: 'Newry Mills, Longford. – Fine and second flour, bran, pollard, and sharps, always on hand. Wheat of best samples produced. William Clerke. Grain cracked or ground at 6d. per bushel.' *Launceston Examiner*, 7 April 1859, p. 1.

<sup>293</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 31 October 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47. See also, 'William was [afire] unfortunately & got greatly excited as usual. I do not know how he spent his evening but our beautiful black horse that Papa kindly lent him, after a hard days work was sent to the Mill put into a stall [seething] with perspiration & left till this morning without food or drink. This morning the poor beast was in a miserable plight & Papa naturally angry declares he shall never ride another horse of his, nothing I fear will ever give Wm. sense. And disputes between them are so painful, but do not mention what I tell you to any human being.' FG Clerke to Kate Clerke, 23 October [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/48.

<sup>294</sup> William Pitt of Longford House.

<sup>295</sup> As did others: 'We were talking over poor William's fate: I am truly sorry: he will feel the restraint terribly: however, there's no disgrace in it "therefore it may be borne; all save disgrace"'. Annie Bourne to Kate Clerke, 6 March [1863], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/52.

led to a short term of imprisonment.<sup>296</sup> Alexander CLERKE eventually lost complete patience with his first-born and from June 1868 until William's death in February 1896, his father paid five shillings *per diem* for his incarceration in the New Norfolk Invalid and Mental Asylum.<sup>297</sup>

Alexander's second son, John Sweetnam CLERKE, had the potential to follow in his father's footsteps but his movements and motivations remain obscure.<sup>298</sup> Kate CLERKE kept only one letter from John, a sweet note of congratulation on her impending marriage where he poked gentle fun at the teetotalism of the betrothed.<sup>299</sup> Other than that he was of most interest to his sisters when he married one of their Irish cousins, Ellen Ada Sweetnam.<sup>300</sup> The 'Mountford Day Book' merely recorded his comings and goings and established that during the 1850s he was in training for a maritime career. John was made a second mate in April 1856 at the age of twenty-two and later that year attempted to secure a position as chief mate on the *Pirate*.<sup>301</sup>

Through the Invercargill newspapers a New Zealand career of sorts can be established. With his brother Thomas, John formed the business partnership 'Clerke Brothers', though how this partnership worked in practice is not clear. Thomas appeared to be their man in Invercargill, registered on the Southland

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<sup>296</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 8 January 1863, pp. 2-3; 22 January 1863, p. 2; 7 February 1863, p. 5; 24 February 1863, p. 3; 3 March 1863, pp. 4-5.

<sup>297</sup> William's admittance record stated that in 1868 he had already suffered from his 'attacks' for three years. HSD 247/1, Record no. 578, New Norfolk Invalid and Mental Asylum, Patient Admissions Register (microfilm, Launceston Library). During these twenty-seven and a half years there were two unsuccessful attempts to rehabilitate William Clerke (D Cassidy, *New Norfolk Invalid and Mental Asylum: Patient Admissions Register, 1830-1930* (self-published index, Launceston Library)). Regarding the payment of five shillings: 'The separation of the 'well born' from the rest ... was always present. The upshot was the construction of separate gentlemen's and ladies' cottages at New Norfolk, in 1859 and 1861 respectively.' (C Fox, 'Exploring 'Amentia' in the Tasmanian Convict System', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, v. 13, 2008, p. 136.)

<sup>298</sup> 'Poor John's sudden fate must have been a terrible blow to her [his wife], & he was one who would be more missed than most'. Fanny Douglas to Kate Weston, 6 December [1874], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/33.

<sup>299</sup> John Clerke to Kate Clerke, 16 January 1865, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/17.

<sup>300</sup> For example, Aphra Clerke to Kate Clerke, 19 [January] 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/44.

<sup>301</sup> 27-30 September 1856. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG.

electoral rolls from 1861, whereas John was not recorded.<sup>302</sup> In 1863 the company had buildings in Tay Street and owned and rented out a cottage in Esk Street.<sup>303</sup> At one time they also had their own farm, referred to in 1872 when a Clydesdale was put up for sale: 'bred by A. Clerke, Esq., Longford, Tasmania, and imported to this province by the Messrs Clerke Bros., for breeding purposes on their own farm'.<sup>304</sup>

In the early 1860s John CLERKE, sometimes referred to as Captain CLERKE, publicly promoted the family's horse dealing interests through membership of the Southland Jockey Club.<sup>305</sup> In March 1863 a notice appeared in the *Southland Times* dissolving the CLERKE brothers' mercantile partnership. It stated that whilst Thomas had retired from the firm it would 'for the future be conducted under the style of J. S. Clerke & Co.'.<sup>306</sup> John and Ellen CLERKE's children were born in both places, a son at Invercargill in December 1862, two children at Longford in 1864 and 1865, and another daughter in Southland in 1866.<sup>307</sup>

John CLERKE continued to appear in the columns of the *Southland Times*, attending a public meeting in the Mechanics Institute to form a Southland Acclimatisation Society in September 1863, and in the same month active in putting out a fire in his rented cottage.<sup>308</sup> Three months later he became the president of Invercargill's new Regatta Club, but how long John CLERKE remained in Southland after September 1866 and the birth of his child is not clear.<sup>309</sup> In February 1867 Kate WESTON received a letter from Invercargill of which only a portion remains. It appears to be from Thomas' wife, Helen CLERKE, and stated that:

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<sup>302</sup> This omission is doubtless an oversight given that, from his mentions in the press, John Clerke was obviously living in Invercargill. 'Otago Nominal Index, University of Otago'. <http://marvin.otago.ac.nz>

<sup>303</sup> *Southland Times*, 24 March 1863, p. 2, and 11 September 1863, p. 3.

<sup>304</sup> *Otago Witness*, 31 August 1872, p. 22.

<sup>305</sup> *Southland Times*, 13 February 1863, p.2.

<sup>306</sup> *Southland Times*, 3 March 1863, p. 1.

<sup>307</sup> Birth notices. *Southland Times*, 9 December 1862, p. 2. *Launceston Examiner*, 31 December 1864, and 15 May 1865. *Southland Times*, 20 September 1866.

<sup>308</sup> Fortunately insured for £150 as 'the whole building was one fiery mass'. *Southland Times*, 22 September 1863, p. 3.

<sup>309</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 24 December 1863, p. 4.

John is up the country again dear old fellow we miss him very much one comfort – I can hear from him every week and if he can he will pay us a visit in three weeks again he told me to give his love to you.<sup>310</sup>

Alexander CLERKE's biographer believes that at some stage John also lived in Sydney, possibly because the *Launceston Examiner* stated erroneously that John was in Sydney at the time of his death.<sup>311</sup> The papers accompanying his will record only that he was 'formerly of Mountford near Longford in Tasmania but late of Gladstone in Queensland'. John CLERKE, mariner, died at Gladstone in November 1874.<sup>312</sup> Why John left Southland, returned to sea and moved to Queensland is not clear, but possibly it was a move bankrolled by his father. Alexander CLERKE had a shipbuilding business on Tasmania's North West Coast and had expressed an interest in Queensland as early as 1862.<sup>313</sup> John was only 36 years old and his death was described as an accidental fall on board ship.<sup>314</sup>

In terms of his New Zealand enterprise, it was Alexander's third son, Thomas Moriarty CLERKE, who by default became 'the good son'. When Thomas turned twenty-one in 1859 he was already established in Southland, because in December 1859 he accompanied his father home when they were both cabin passengers on the *Pirate* between Otago and Melbourne.<sup>315</sup> By April 1860 Thomas was listed on the electoral roll for Invercargill with '500 acres and

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<sup>310</sup> Helen Clerke to Kate Weston, 16 February 1867, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18. Note that the epithet 'old' appears to be a Clerke family endearment. More than once Ellen Archer refers to Kate (her much younger unmarried sister) as 'dearest old Kate' and 'dear old girl' (Ellen Archer to Kate Clerke, 19 September 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/43).

<sup>311</sup> JR Briscoe, *A sense of duty: The Clerkes, An Anglo Irish Family in Colonial Tasmania*, (Master Humanities thesis, University of Tasmania, 1996), p. 88. Note the obituary of his father, Alexander Clerke (*Launceston Examiner*, 22 March 1877, p. 2).

<sup>312</sup> Will of JS Clerke. Will no. 713. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO.

<sup>313</sup> FG Clerke to Kate Clerke, 23 October [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/48.

<sup>314</sup> In her citation Ellen Clerke claimed her husband owned nothing but an insurance policy valued at £200. AE242/1/12. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO. Perhaps this statement was made on the advice of her father-in-law; Ellen Clerke was staying at Mountford at the time. Ellen is believed to have returned to Ireland with her children where 'rents from farms in Tasmania sustained them' (JR Briscoe, *A sense of duty: The Clerkes, An Anglo Irish Family in Colonial Tasmania*, (Master Humanities thesis, University of Tasmania, 1996), p. 88).

<sup>315</sup> *Otago Witness*, 31 December 1859, p. 5.

house thereon'.<sup>316</sup> Having embarked on what was promising to become a lucrative cross-Tasman business, it is not inconceivable that his father also encouraged him to seek a sensible helpmeet.<sup>317</sup> Thomas chose well and in March 1861 married into a neighbouring Longford family. His bride was the cheerful, practical, Helen Alexander PATON, a daughter of the late Dr William PATON.<sup>318</sup> The following month they sailed for New Zealand on the *Royal Shepherd*.<sup>319</sup>

Like John and Ellen Ada CLERKE, Thomas and Helen, domiciled at Invercargill in their eight-roomed 'commodious Cottage' also had children born in both colonies.<sup>320</sup> In Invercargill Thomas CLERKE worked at his business and followed in his father's Tasmanian footsteps by becoming a local politician. He began with the Invercargill Town Board in September 1863 before being nominated for the Provincial Council of Southland in April 1866.<sup>321</sup> This honour his wife reported back to Tasmania:

They have returned Tom a member he did not wish [*sic*] but they [asked] him so much & could not get another he was returned the day of nominations without opposition & it has not cost him a penny the council sits next month & only then in the evenings so much of his time will not be taken up It is held in the Masonic Hall a rather handsome building – there have been awful wars lately & many of the members have judged it wise to resign I believe they have been swindling the province at a great rate but it is being remoddled [*sic*].<sup>322</sup>

Nine months later and Helen CLERKE was less sanguine about the Provincial Council, complaining instead that 'that stupid council took so much time and it was so important he should attend'.<sup>323</sup> Governing Southland at the time was

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<sup>316</sup> *Otago Witness*, 28 April 1860, p. 7.

<sup>317</sup> By all accounts there was a pleasing tractability about Thomas Clerke, both from his obituaries and the testimony of his mother: 'Tom came here last evening, & finding your father so ill came back today, he is not a bad nurse, is strong & helpful'. FG Clerke to Kate Weston, 8 March [1877], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/27.

<sup>318</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1861 669/37.

<sup>319</sup> 24 April 1861. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020.

<sup>320</sup> *Southland Times*, 17 November 1869, p. 3.

<sup>321</sup> *Southland Times*, 1 September 1863, p. 3, and 4 April 1866, p. 2.

<sup>322</sup> Helen Clerke to Kate Weston, 17 April 1866, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/50.

<sup>323</sup> Helen Clerke to Kate Weston, 16 February 1867, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18.



fraught with difficulty as the province became even more financially embarrassed.<sup>324</sup> Four months later the Council resigned.<sup>325</sup> Yet in September 1867 Thomas was re-elected to the new Provincial Council of Southland as a member for Waihopai.<sup>326</sup> Thomas had known what he was getting himself into. When he was first proposed as a candidate in 1866 he addressed the electors with his regret:

That the circumstances of the Province, brought about by incompetency in its Government, from its formation were such that there was little for the Council to do in the way of improvements of any description.<sup>327</sup>

By 1869 Southland was on the brink of being 'annexed' by Otago, a seemingly inevitable outcome of the province's debt and the continued precariousness of its government. At the Council's July 1869 meeting CLERKE pledged himself to vote for the dissolution of the Provincial Council as soon as delegates had been appointed to confer with Otago regarding reunion with that province.<sup>328</sup> The situation continued to worsen, with much confusion over whether Southland's Superintendent had actually resigned.<sup>329</sup>

Southland's woes would have weighed heavily with an acknowledged straight-dealer like CLERKE and no doubt assisted him in his decision to return to Tasmania. In 1869 he was still only thirty-one years old, young enough to forge a new life for himself and his family, and this he proceeded to do. What is interesting was that Thomas CLERKE remained in Invercargill for as long as he did. Invercargill's population had been dwindling since the mid-1860s with many people heading north to the new goldfields on New Zealand's West Coast. The Hobart *Mercury* essayist, 'A Tasmanian', described Invercargill in 1867: 'only about half the tenements in the town are occupied, and the number of dreary-

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<sup>324</sup> 'Southland, of all the provinces, stood pre-eminent in financial dissipation'. AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, p. 882.

<sup>325</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 5 June 1867, p. 4.

<sup>326</sup> *The Otago Daily Times*, 12 September 1867, p. 4.

<sup>327</sup> *Southland Times*, 4 April 1866, p. 2.

<sup>328</sup> *Southland Times*, 9 July 1869, p. 1.

<sup>329</sup> *Southland Times*, 3 September 1869, p. 4; 6 September 1869, p. 2, and 19 November 1869, p. 2.

looking houses and huts, give the place a most desolate aspect'.<sup>330</sup> Thomas and Helen may have stayed on at the behest of Alexander CLERKE, and doubtless Thomas felt he should do something to assist Southland out of its difficulties, as did other well-meaning Tasmanians.<sup>331</sup>

Thomas and Helen CLERKE finally returned to Tasmania in December 1869 along with Helen's sister, Marianne PATON, who had lived with them in New Zealand.<sup>332</sup> The citizens of Invercargill presented Thomas with an inscribed gold watch and chain, and he did not seek to enlighten them as to his reasons for leaving:

Mr Clerke, in expressing his thanks, said that he left Southland with considerable regret. He had been so long here, and taken such an active part in public affairs, that he had become thoroughly identified with the Province, and acquainted with nearly all its inhabitants. His regret was increased to some extent on his own behalf at least, because he believed Southland to be on the eve of renewed prosperity.<sup>333</sup> He enumerated a number of the signs of brightening prospects, and expressed himself especially hopeful of the results of the flax industry. As an evidence of his faith in this enterprise, he stated that he was taking with him to Tasmania a large quantity of flax seed, where he intended to introduce its cultivation.<sup>334</sup>

No evidence has been located to prove that Thomas attempted to found a flax industry in Tasmania. However Penguin, the town where the CLERKEs settled, to this day contains many examples of New Zealand flora.<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69*, by "A. Tasmanian", (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 15.

<sup>331</sup> For example, the Quaker newspaper proprietor, George Stanton Crouch, who became honorary secretary of the committee that took over the running of the Southland Hospital when the government left it without funds. GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 20.

<sup>332</sup> *Southland Times*, 10 December 1869, p. 2.

<sup>333</sup> Thomas Clerke was to some extent proven correct: 'There followed a period of stagnation, but a revival came in 1869 and 1870 when Sir Julius Vogel's public works scheme brought huge sums of borrowed money and thousands of emigrants to the country, many of whom settled in the south.' AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, p. 173.

<sup>334</sup> *Southland Times*, 6 December 1869, p. 2.

<sup>335</sup> For example, pohutukawa and koromiko. The flax around the camping ground, however, was only planted recently.

Thomas CLERKE's death in 1891 evoked warmer memories in the citizens of both places than his father's demise had done in 1877. Invercargill felt that 'those of our readers who remember the prominent men of the young town of the early sixties, will readily recall a genial and energetic gentleman'.<sup>336</sup> In Penguin Thomas was lauded as their 'late leader in all public and political matters' whose 'pleasant, cheerful, lively countenance will be sorely missed'.<sup>337</sup> While no doubt more amenable than his father, he was still a CLERKE whose 'goings and doings were straight and clear, and all accounts kept just and honest'.<sup>338</sup>

None of the correspondents found in the Weston Collection papers commented on the success or otherwise of the CLERKE family businesses in New Zealand. The only CLERKE to make a remark about New Zealand after their return to Tasmania was Helen who complained that 'the weather [at Penguin] has been dreadful lately I never felt it so cold in my life even worse than the worst cold in New Zealand'.<sup>339</sup> The only relevant comment is from an external source and made over twenty years after they had left Invercargill. In Thomas CLERKE's obituary Launceston's *Daily Telegraph* added that:

Whilst still a young man he left home for New Zealand where through the aid of his father he commenced business as a commission and produce agent. Upon his return to Tasmania from New Zealand where his business pursuits do not seem to have been attended with great success, he settled down at the Penguin<sup>340</sup> where he resided until the time of his decease at the age of 53.<sup>341</sup>

Such remarks aside, Thomas CLERKE did return to Tasmania with the best wishes of Southland ringing in his ears. He was not bankrupt, but he did not return with that vast fortune which in Tasmanian eyes would have justified him

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<sup>336</sup> Obituary. *Southland Times*, 12 March 1891, p. 2.

<sup>337</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 7 March 1891, p. 3.

<sup>338</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 7 March 1891, p. 3.

<sup>339</sup> Helen Clerke to Kate Weston, 22 June 1878, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/29.

<sup>340</sup> Placing 'the' or 'on' in front of place names is a peculiarity of Tasmanian usage. Note also, that Penguin lies a short distance west of Ulverstone whence Alexander Clerke retired in the 1870s. Alexander Clerke is interred beside the church at Penguin.

<sup>341</sup> Obituary. *Daily Telegraph*, 5 March 1891, p. 2. Thomas Clerke's Invercargill obituary likewise referred to him as a 'merchant' (*Southland Times*, 12 March 1891, p. 2).

spending quite so many years away from his birthplace. The same negativity towards nineteenth century investment in New Zealand appears in other contexts, such as persisting with the claim that the absentee wool baron, Robert Quayle Kermode, did not do particularly well in New Zealand.<sup>342</sup> This was in spite of the 1873 sale of his private runs in New Zealand realising £186,574, 'the largest and most celebrated thus far in New Zealand history'.<sup>343</sup> Even 'after paying all debts and legacies and giving the first family their property there is £45,000 to the good' which was re-invested in New Zealand for Kermode's second family.<sup>344</sup> During the nineteenth century Tasmania itself suffered financial setbacks of an arguably more serious nature than those experienced in New Zealand, yet this belief in the non-viability of investing in New Zealand persisted.

Alexander CLERKE and his sons sit comfortably within the defining characteristics of the first phase of Tasmanian middle class movement across the Tasman that took place between 1855 and 1865. Their reason for voyaging to New Zealand was not migration. They had an established base in Tasmania and, like the absentee runholders in Canterbury and North Otago, sought to invest and trade in the neighbouring colony. There is no evidence that they ever expressed an intention to remain in New Zealand and on the whole they returned home.

Their New Zealand sojourn was facilitated by their Tasmanian businesses. Alexander CLERKE's farming properties produced horses, flour and other foodstuffs, as well as timber and the estate carpenters to work it. Older middle-class speculators, like CLERKE, also had young adult sons trained up within their fathers' enterprises who were well aware of the advantages available to

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<sup>342</sup> See for example, Committee of the National Trust of Australia (Tasmania), *Campbell Town Tasmania: History and Centenary of Municipal Government*, (Campbell Town Municipal Council, 1966), p. 68.

<sup>343</sup> When Kermode died in 1870 the terms of his will decreed that the company's properties be offered for sale without reserve. *Wellington Independent*, 15 February 1873, p. 3. See also, EJ Cameron, 'Kermode, William (1790-1852)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.online.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au) (RQ Kermode (1812-1870) is included in his father's biography).

<sup>344</sup> John Whitehead to Edwin Bowring, 1 October 1879. FA Vernon (compiler) and MN Sprod (ed.), *The Whitehead Letters: Tasmanian society and politics 1871-1882*, (Hobart, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1991), p. 161.

them. They arrived in New Zealand with cash to purchase land, a reliable source of saleable stock, and the wherewithal to immediately erect stores and dwellings. If they survived their experience of New Zealand they could return home to Tasmania and pick up where they left off, as Thomas CLERKE did in 1869.

Only one of Alexander CLERKE's children settled permanently in New Zealand and that was Frances (Fanny) Sweetnam CLERKE.<sup>345</sup> Fanny had previously visited Southland at least once, during 1863 when she stayed with Thomas and Helen CLERKE, after completing her schooling the year before. She wrote of Invercargill, 'It is all very well to stay here for a short time but I shall have had quite enough of it by the time I leave and it is a sort of place that one would never care to see again'.<sup>346</sup> After her marriage to William DOUGLAS in January 1874 Fanny moved to Dunedin.<sup>347</sup> The son of Roddam Hulke DOUGLAS, a Westbury landowner, William DOUGLAS worked for the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company. In Dunedin he also continued the cricketering career he had begun in Tasmania:<sup>348</sup>

Willie has got away a good deal this year to play cricket. The Cricket Club here were so anxious for him to join that they went to the General Manager & got him to arrange for him to get away on Saturday afternoon & earlier in the evenings, before Willie knew anything of it, & after their taking that trouble he could not be so ungracious as not to play. It is a pleasure to him, & I am glad he should have it, but I find it rather dull when he is so much away.<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>345</sup> In the later 1870s Fanny's younger sister, Aphra Clerke, also visited New Zealand. This appears to have been a holiday and Aphra stayed with their friends, the Robert Gillies (Caroline Clerke to Kate Weston, 23 August 1878, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/30). Gillies had earlier spent his honeymoon in Tasmania, presumably visiting his wife's Street relations (Robert Gillies to Edward Weston, 19 August 1867, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18).

<sup>346</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 16 November [1863], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>347</sup> Marriage notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 17 January 1874. 'Fanny seems to like Dunedin I should think it was pleasanter having a cottage of their own.' (Caroline Clerke to Kate Weston, 5 March 1875, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/24.)

<sup>348</sup> In Tasmania Douglas had played cricket for Horton College. *Launceston Examiner*, 29 October 1864, p. 3.

<sup>349</sup> Fanny Douglas to Caroline Clerke, 12 March 1877, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/27.

DOUGLAS played for Dunedin's Albion Club.<sup>350</sup> In 1878 and 1880 he was also selected to play for Otago in intercolonial matches against visiting Australian teams.<sup>351</sup> In 1882 William DOUGLAS was appointed manager of the Gore agency. Five years later he died at the age of 39. His obituary extolled 'his gentlemanly bearing and business despatch' and the fact that he had taken a keen interest in literature and his church as well as athletics, cricket and football.<sup>352</sup> Fanny and William DOUGLAS must be seen as separate to her father and her CLERKE brothers. Like the family of Eliza ADAMS, Fanny and William fit more easily into the second and later phase of Tasmanian middle class movement to New Zealand.

### **Born of necessity: the ADAMS experience**

The catalyst for the ADAMS children, as it was for the majority of young middle-class Tasmanians who travelled to New Zealand during the 1860s and early 1870s, was not the opportunity for financial speculation but the twin prompts of Tasmania's wearisome depression which was well entrenched by the 1860s, and the developments that followed across the Tasman in the wake of New Zealand's Otago gold rushes.

Also, in contrast to the earlier movement across the Tasman as embodied by the CLERKEs, this later phase was not predominantly family-related. Although brother and sister followed brother, these 'migrants' essentially travelled as individuals. This second phase of middle-class Tasmanian cross-Tasman movement was also less likely to result in a return to their home colony.

Today the ADAMS would be viewed as 'economic migrants', though economic reasons were not their only impetus for leaving Tasmania. The ADAMS left their home colony as much to escape associations which would not allow them to prosper in Tasmania. They may have been the sons and daughters of a free gentleman settler and had received the best education that their father could afford, but nonetheless they were disadvantaged both by the lack of family

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<sup>350</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 10 September 1879, p. 3.

<sup>351</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 15 January 1878, p. 3, and 14 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>352</sup> Obituary. *Southland Times*, 8 September 1887, p. 3.

capital and by the shortcomings of their father.<sup>353</sup> As a patriarch Henry Cay ADAMS never possessed the energy and speculative focus of Alexander CLERKE, and he was ill throughout much of his later life.<sup>354</sup>

While Eliza's eldest brother, also Henry Cay ADAMS, told his children that their grandfather went to Van Diemen's Land to be 'a padre to the penal settlement' Eliza herself provided a more prosaic story.<sup>355</sup> Her descendants state that she believed that 'Henry Cay ADAMS [senior] had been despatched to the colonies just short of completion of his theological studies. He had married a farmer's daughter (who was pregnant) which was definitely not acceptable in his family circles'.<sup>356</sup> His family in England then forwarded funds to the colony for a land grant as he was not trusted with the money himself.<sup>357</sup> Eliza's New Zealand descendants have thus surmised that she would have been pleased to leave Tasmania. It is their belief that Eliza's father knew nothing of farming and that it was only through the hard work of his wife and their children that the ADAMS family was able to remain on the land for as long as it did.

Henry Cay ADAMS successfully applied for a land grant in 1832.<sup>358</sup> He named his Prossers Plains property Halstead, after his family home in England, and between 1830 and 1838 his older children were christened in the Sorell area, followed by Charles, Frederick and Louisa at Spring Bay between 1840 and 1843.<sup>359</sup> During the early 1840s ADAMS attempted to sell Halstead and the Tasmanian census of 1842 indicates that the family remained there at least until that date.<sup>360</sup> The ADAMS probably moved in 1843.<sup>361</sup> In 1839 ADAMS

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<sup>353</sup> Throughout the registration of the christenings of his older children, Henry Cay Adams was described as 'Gentleman' with his residence given as 'Halstead, Prossers Plains'. No occupation or residence was stated on Eliza Adams' birth registration, when he was a catechist at St Marys. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Birth 1845 1234/33.

<sup>354</sup> 'Poor Mr. A looks very ill I think'. Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 1 October 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47. However he did not die for another seven years (Death notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 10 August 1869).

<sup>355</sup> Note also, 'farmer and chaplain' from Charles Adams' descendants. RS Adams, 'Adams, Charles William 1840-1918', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

<sup>356</sup> Personal communication, Maureen Powles, family history researcher.

<sup>357</sup> Confirmed by, CSO 1/484/10761, cited in Archives Office of Tasmania correspondence file (Adams), TAHO.

<sup>358</sup> LSD 1/89/pp. 9-14, cited in Archives Office of Tasmania correspondence file (Smith), TAHO.

<sup>359</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*.

<sup>360</sup> CEN 1/1/42, p. 74. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO.

senior had been appointed a Justice of the Peace, which indicates some measure of official recognition.<sup>362</sup> After he lost his farm, he went into government employment.

In February 1844 he was catechist at the Fingal Probation Station and shortly thereafter at the St Marys Pass Probation Station.<sup>363</sup> The ADAMS' youngest daughter, Eliza, was born nearby at Avoca in April 1845.<sup>364</sup> At St Marys Pass her father's 'want of common judgement' in merely reading the set prayers without consideration for the Catholic convicts in his charge earned him the disapproval of Matthew Forster, Comptroller General of Convicts.<sup>365</sup>

Interestingly, at the same time Bishop Francis Russell Nixon was in conflict with Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Eardley-Wilmot over the calibre of chaplains appointed to convict establishments.<sup>366</sup>

In 1846 the family moved into the Northern Midlands area of Van Diemen's Land where Henry Cay ADAMS would remain for the rest of his life.<sup>367</sup> He became catechist to the Deloraine Station where his family lived in an unfinished wooden dwelling.<sup>368</sup> Here their youngest child, Edward, was born in 1848.<sup>369</sup> According to the official history of Campbell Town, from some time in 1848 until June 1851 Henry Cay ADAMS was the schoolmaster at Campbell Town. By all accounts he ran an efficient school as the 'discipline was apparently good. The pupils answered questions well, the writing was very

<sup>361</sup> 'Pre-1926 Index', Titles Office, Department of Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Environment, Hobart.

<sup>362</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette*, 2 October 1839, cited in Archives Office of Tasmania correspondence file (Smith), TAHO.

<sup>363</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*. That is, both Sorell and Spring Bay are consistent with the Adams family living at Prossers Plains.

<sup>364</sup> CON 1/1/4, file 407, 1844. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO.

<sup>365</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Birth 1845 1234/33.

<sup>366</sup> CON 1/1/34, file 2580, 1844. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO. Strict adherence to the doctrine of the Church of England also affected his relationship with his children. Eliza's granddaughter, Elsie Crompton-Smith, stated that Eliza told her: 'the family used to be gathered round every Sunday evening and their Father read very long sermons to them. Dreadfully boring to young ones' (Elsie Crompton-Smith, 1986, cited in email, Maureen Powles, family history researcher).

<sup>367</sup> WR Barrett, 'Nixon, Francis Russell (1803-1879)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.anu.edu.au)

<sup>368</sup> CSO 50/21, 1846. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO.

<sup>369</sup> CEN 1/1/104, p. 22. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO.

<sup>370</sup> *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, (Hobart, Maitland and Krone, 1900), v. 2, p. 177.



good, twenty-five wrote in books (there were fifty-one enrolled) and arithmetic and geography were well taught'.<sup>370</sup> In February 1850 the Inspector of Schools, Thomas Arnold, wrote to ADAMS about the school furniture at Campbell Town and again in June 1851 he discussed ADAMS' wish to conduct the school on Church of England lines.<sup>371</sup>

While Thomas Arnold, son of Dr Thomas Arnold of Rugby, had himself previously lived and taught in Nelson, the exceptionally busy schedule for his Northern Midland visits would probably have precluded any discussion with ADAMS on the subject of New Zealand.<sup>372</sup> Almost twenty years later Eliza ADAMS stayed with a relative of Arnold, Mrs Dr Leonard George BOOR.<sup>373</sup> It was in the BOOR's Wellington home that Eliza met her future husband.<sup>374</sup> This coincidence of interconnectedness would have been lost on Eliza as she was only five years old at the time of Thomas Arnold's Campbell Town inspections.<sup>375</sup>

Around 1852 Henry Cay ADAMS became schoolmaster at the town's new Church of England school 'conducted in a large and handsome

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<sup>370</sup> Inspector's report, 9 April 1850, cited in Committee of the National Trust of Australia (Tasmania), *Campbell Town Tasmania: History and Centenary of Municipal Government*, (Tasmania, Campbell Town Municipal Council, 1966), p. 41.

<sup>371</sup> Thomas Arnold to Henry Cay Adams, 13 February 1850, and 25 June 1851, CB 3/1, Secretary's Letterbooks. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO. Note, an earlier letter of May 1850 discussed Mr Adams being at Deloraine while his wife ran a school elsewhere. 'Whether there was any chance of Adam's coming back from Deloraine and being with his wife again, because if there was the least chance of that, I could not recommend that Mrs Adams should be [reconsigned] by the Government as school mistress' (Thomas Arnold to the Reverend Thomas Reibey, 7 May 1850, CB 3/1, Secretary's Letterbooks. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO).

<sup>372</sup> Thomas Arnold to Julia Sorell, 29 March 1850. James Bertram (ed.), *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger: with Further Letters from Van Diemen's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough 1847-1851*, (Auckland, University of Auckland/Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 180.

<sup>373</sup> Obituary. *Colonist*, 12 February 1917, p. 4.

<sup>374</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 8 May [1867], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18.

<sup>375</sup> Quite how Eliza Adams knew the Boors is not clear. However, Dr Boor's sister (Mrs Knell) was in Constantinople during the Crimean War (*Evening Post*, 26 June 1937, p. 18) so may have known Eliza's Tasmanian friends, Dr Ernest and Sophia Wigan who both served at the Crimea. Or, closer to home, the Boors were friendly with Edith Stanway Halcombe (née Swainson) who appears to have taken Eliza under her wing, and she would have known the Boors from their earlier lives together at the Hutt.

schoolhouse'.<sup>376</sup> He was still in Campbell Town in October 1854 when his horse was stolen and was referred to only as 'of Campbell Town' at the subsequent trial in March 1855.<sup>377</sup> In mid-nineteenth century Tasmania the work of a colonial schoolmaster was not particularly well-paid, usually a small stipend supplemented by whatever the parents could provide locally, and it is not clear whether ADAMS continued in this profession or was employed elsewhere between 1852 and the family's arrival at Newry Farm in January 1857, once again to become farmers and property owners. There is no evidence that they were in the Longford area prior to 1857.<sup>378</sup>

However it came about that the ADAMS were able to acquire Newry Farm, they were certainly perceived as being extremely poor by their neighbours the CLERKES.<sup>379</sup> Nevertheless, by the mid-1860s the ADAMS could afford a carriage as Eliza referred to the possibility of being driven by her brother.<sup>380</sup> This fact is corroborated by the government's return for carriage licences from 1865 to 1869.<sup>381</sup> ADAMS' Newry Farm was small, only 193 acres, and in October 1863 these acres were transferred to John Gatenby, though the ADAMS continued in residence.<sup>382</sup> Henry Cay ADAMS died in August 1869 aged 68 and Jane ADAMS removed to a house at Avoca which she named

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<sup>376</sup> Committee of the National Trust of Australia (Tasmania), *Campbell Town Tasmania: History and Centenary of Municipal Government*, (Tasmania, Campbell Town Municipal Council, 1966), p. 42.

<sup>377</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 8 March 1855, p. 2.

<sup>378</sup> In March 1855 Newry Farm was advertised for sale by private contract. *Launceston Examiner*, 24 March 1855, p. 3. In December 1856 the previous owner put his stock and farming implements up for auction (*Launceston Examiner*, 27 December 1856, p. 5) and three days later Henry Cay Adams was styling himself 'Esq., Newry Farm, Launceston' (*Launceston Examiner*, 30 December 1856, p. 1). Charles Adams recorded himself as having arrived at Newry on 1 January 1857 ('Notebook of CW Adams', MS-Papers-1257, Alexander Turnbull Library). The deeds indicate a date of 7 January 1857 ('Pre-1926 Index', Titles Office, Department of Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Environment, Hobart).

<sup>379</sup> Regular visits to Mountford by members of the Adams family were recorded from February 1857, especially Miss or the Misses Adams. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020.

<sup>380</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 20 April [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>381</sup> No carriage licence was recorded for the previous year (1864). 'Return of the Amounts received for Carriage Licences in 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, and 1869; specifying the various Municipalities and Police Districts throughout the Island, with the Names of the Licences in each District, and the Amounts paid in each Year in juxtaposition', *Journals and Printed Papers of Parliament (Tas)*, v. 16, 1870, and v. 17, 1871.

<sup>382</sup> 'Pre-1926 Index', Titles Office, Department of Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Environment, Hobart.

Halstead Cottage.<sup>383</sup> She died at Fingal at the age of 85 and was interred at Avoca in December 1891.<sup>384</sup> Interestingly, Eliza ADAMS' letters hold only two references to her father, and then only in relation to his wife, as 'Papa & Mama' or 'Mama & Papa' – by contrast her mother was mentioned fondly at least sixteen times.<sup>385</sup>

Henry Cay ADAMS' unsettled lifestyle of the 1840s and 1850s did however provide his children with a wealth of friends and contacts, as witness the proposed visits to other families discussed by Eliza in her letters.<sup>386</sup> Such a lifestyle of land and landlessness and government employment no doubt also influenced the formative years of ADAMS' children so that they never developed the strong ties to one particular area of Tasmania that were inherent in the operations of investing landowners such as Alexander CLERKE. There would have been little incentive to return to Tasmania once they had made a niche for themselves in New Zealand.

The career of the eldest ADAMS son, Henry, was also one of movement; he barely had time to settle to their new life at Newry. In September 1860, while still in his early twenties, Henry ADAMS accompanied John CLERKE to Invercargill on the *Northern Light* along with one dog cart, a case of harness and two packages of saddles.<sup>387</sup> Whether the CLERKEs provided Henry with employment on his arrival is not known, but by September 1862 he was well enough established to marry the English-born Catherine Leybourne Oates, a daughter of the Riverton pilot.<sup>388</sup> This marriage caused some stir in Longford circles:

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<sup>383</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Death 1869 273/35.

<sup>384</sup> Death notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 22 December 1891.

<sup>385</sup> This may have been in part a convention of the time. What is noticeable in the Weston Collection correspondence is that on the whole women wrote about the doings of other women; they rarely wrote to each other about men and business.

<sup>386</sup> For example, to the family of Dr Valentine at Campbell Town in 1862. Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 14 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. Also, 'I have a delightful piece of news to tell you, which is that I have great hopes of going with Fred to Ormley, and Henbury, and perhaps I may go all the way up to Cullenswood and the coast, I will then go to see the Cowells, Mrs. Steele's and to Harefield' (Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 6 August [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42).

<sup>387</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 29 September 1860, p. 2.

<sup>388</sup> [www.sherwoodforest.co.nz/wp-content/.../07/Dereks-ancestors.pdf](http://www.sherwoodforest.co.nz/wp-content/.../07/Dereks-ancestors.pdf)

We saw too by one of the N. Zealand papers the marriage of Mr. Henry Adams, but strange to say, he did not write to tell his family anything about it, and they had not heard from him for 6 months, at which, they very naturally seem much displeased.<sup>389</sup>

Fanny CLERKE visited Invercargill the following year and maintained her family's unfavourable opinion of him:

I often see Henry Adams in the streets he is just as vulgar and conceited as ever. Mrs. Adams is a little woman very vulgar and tolerably nice looking ... Mr. & Mrs. Adams live quite close to John's residence.<sup>390</sup>

Their first child, also Henry Cay ADAMS, was born in Invercargill in 1863 but by the mid-1860s Henry and Catherine had moved to the farming area of Navarre in Victoria, which had originally benefited from its proximity to the Mount Alexander gold rush of 1851. Subsequent children were born at Navarre until their youngest child, Margaret Harriet, was registered at Melbourne in 1878.<sup>391</sup> Whether this birth indicates the timing for the family's move back to New Zealand is not clear, though given the future settlement patterns of their various children, an interim move to Tasmania was also a probability. On his return to New Zealand Henry ADAMS continued as a sheep farmer and was living in South Wyndham in Otago when he died from pleurisy in June 1896 at the age of 57.<sup>392</sup> Unfortunately the Otago newspapers were marginally more interested in his better-known sibling, Charles, than in providing a comprehensive obituary for Henry.<sup>393</sup>

Eliza ADAMS' favourite brother, Charles William ADAMS, was noteworthy enough to be interviewed on his retirement in 1904. That article indicated that

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<sup>389</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 1 October 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>390</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 16 November [1863], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47. In 1864 Henry Adams was living in Esk Street, Invercargill (*Harnetts Dunedin Directory*, cited in 'Otago Nominal Index, University of Otago'. <http://marvin.otago.ac.nz>).

<sup>391</sup> Personal communication, Maureen Powles, family history researcher.

<sup>392</sup> *Stones Otago Southland Directory* (email from Hocken Library).

<sup>393</sup> Death notice. *Wyndham Herald*, 3 July 1896. See also, Death notices: *Otago Daily Times*, 6 July 1896; *Otago Witness*, 9 July 1896; and *Launceston Examiner*, 22 July 1896.

he had already left Tasmania once before moving to New Zealand. At the age of nineteen he worked in the Survey Department in Victoria before returning home in late 1860 to survey crown lands in Tasmania. Then, 'when the gold fever broke out in the beginning of 1862, he left Tasmania, and arrived in Otago'.<sup>394</sup> In Dunedin he went first into business with another surveyor, Walter Hippolyte Pilliet, and did not enter the Survey Department until their partnership was dissolved in September 1862. Thereafter Charles ADAMS' career as a surveyor, and more especially as an important nineteenth century New Zealand astronomer, is documented in his *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* entry.<sup>395</sup> In his 1904 retirement piece Charles attributed 'a great part of his success in his career to the thorough grounding in mathematics he received in the Campbelltown [*sic*] Grammar School'.<sup>396</sup>

In New Zealand, Charles ADAMS kept a notebook in which he recorded family births and the dates of his various movements about the country.<sup>397</sup> This notebook confirms the date of February 1862 for his arrival in New Zealand but records no return visits to Tasmania. Possibly he did not want to risk meeting the friends of his youth, since it appears that Charles ADAMS was a part of Kate CLERKE's 'kettle of fish' – an event which occurred some time before Fanny first mentioned it in 1863.<sup>398</sup> Whatever happened was kept very quiet by the CLERKEs and not even all of Kate's sisters knew the details. In June 1864 Aphra CLERKE finally became apprised of the news and wrote jubilantly, 'At last I have heard about "The Kettle of Fish" you got into ... Mr. C. A. was the last person that I should have thought of'.<sup>399</sup> When Kate announced her engagement to Edward WESTON Eliza ADAMS responded with:

I can now thank God for your happiness, although it cuts asunder the last thread of hope, which I had (though almost unknown to me)

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<sup>394</sup> *Marlborough Express*, 2 June 1904, p. 2.

<sup>395</sup> RS Adams, 'Adams, Charles William 1840-1918, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

<sup>396</sup> *Marlborough Express*, 2 June 1904, p. 2.

<sup>397</sup> 'Notebook of CW Adams', MS-Papers-1257, Alexander Turnbull Library.

<sup>398</sup> 'To express to you my sympathy with you for the nice kettle of fish you seem to have been in, as I hope by this time it is over. Really it must have been most unpleasant, for you and for the other parties concerned also.' Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 7 November [1863], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>399</sup> Aphra Clerke to Kate Clerke, 16 June 1864, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/44.

concerning the happiness of one very near to me as you well know. I may have done wrong dear, in referring to this subject, but I shall never write or speak of it again to you.<sup>400</sup>

Whatever Kate CLERKE and Charles ADAMS may have been involved in (possibly little more than a rash exchange of letters) and despite Eliza ADAMS' fond hope that her best friend would marry her favourite brother, Charles married in New Zealand. In January 1870 he wed Ellen Sarah Gillon, the sister of Edward Thomas Gillon a well-known New Zealand newspaper editor.<sup>401</sup> Charles and Ellen ADAMS went on to produce a family of high achieving New Zealanders. After a 42-year career surveying in New Zealand, Charles ADAMS remained usefully active in scientific circles until his death at Wellington in 1918.

Of all Eliza ADAMS' brothers, Fred most often raised disapprobation in the CLERKE family, doubtless because of his facility in leading William astray. While working on the family farm Frederick ADAMS also produced poetry which was likewise referred to in disparaging terms.<sup>402</sup> He did not have a negative impact on everyone. In September 1862 Fred ADAMS and William CLERKE planned to form a young men's debating club in Longford.<sup>403</sup> Possibly from this endeavour came Fred's public lectures in Longford and Launceston in 1864 and 1865 which were reported in the local newspapers.<sup>404</sup> The first lecture was on Longfellow and the latter on 'the American Poet, Edgar Poe', which

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<sup>400</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>401</sup> Marriage notice. *Otago Daily Times*, 6 January 1870. For Gillon see, P Mennell, *The Dictionary of Australasian Biography: Comprising Notices of Eminent Colonists*, (London, Hutchinson & Co., 1892), pp. 186-187.

<sup>402</sup> 'Emma [Degraes], William and myself spent Tuesday evening at the Adams, there was no one else there, but it was very pleasant. Part of one amusement consisted of Mr. Fred's reading aloud his own poetical compositions, which he appeared to think incomparable.' (Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 29 August [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.) William Clerke however, was not disparaging: 'F. Adams is competing for the poetical prize offered in Hobart for the best production of a born Tasmanian his sister Eliza Adams told me that what her brother had already written was very good'. (William Clerke to Kate Clerke, 8 September 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/46.)

<sup>403</sup> 'Mr. Fred Adams has given us the honour of his society a couple of evenings lately, ... he has become really unbearably conceited lately, and worse than ever on his principles. They are talking of getting up a young mens debating Club in Longford, of which he of course intends to be a member' (Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 10 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47). The club had at least one meeting: 'There is an Elocution class now set up in Longford conducted by Mr. [?], Mr F Adams was in the chair last night' (Aphra Clerke to Kate Clerke, 9 October 1862, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/44).

<sup>404</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 15 June 1864, p. 5.

prompted the remark that Fred had ‘handled his subject in a pleasing manner’.<sup>405</sup> Quite what Fred ADAMS did in the years between these lectures and surfacing in Dunedin in 1876 is not clear, but if Fanny DOUGLAS can be relied on he had been in Victoria for at least a part of that time:

We had a visit from Fred Adams much to my astonishment, some weeks since. He is so rough & uncouth looking, & in appearance anything but a gentleman. He seems to have had a hard life in Victoria, but was as loquacious & self assured as ever.<sup>406</sup>

In 1876 Fred ADAMS was still only 35 years old and about to embark on his New Zealand career. In September that year, when Charles ADAMS and his wife and five children sailed between Dunedin and Lyttelton, their fellow passenger was ‘F. Adams’.<sup>407</sup> Internet searches indicate that Frederick ADAMS became a Christchurch surveyor.<sup>408</sup> In April 1879 he married Ellen Boulton in Christchurch.<sup>409</sup> His brother, ‘C. W. Adams, Surveyor, Ch Ch’, was a witness.<sup>410</sup> Ellen was a niece of John Boulton and the youngest daughter of Edwin Boulton of Avoca, Tasmania (chapter 1). The ADAMS family had earlier lived in the Avoca area (Eliza was born there) and their eldest daughter, Jane, had married Joseph Boulton in 1870.<sup>411</sup> Thus in Christchurch the ADAMS would have had *entrée* to members of the Boulton family living there.

Quite what later triggered Fred ADAMS’ departure from Christchurch and his subsequent demise is not yet determined. A subdued notice appeared in the *Launceston Examiner* stating that he had died of enteric fever in Sydney in

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<sup>405</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 8 June 1865, p. 5.

<sup>406</sup> Fanny Douglas to Kate Weston, 25 October 1876, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/15.

<sup>407</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 26 September 1876, p. 2 (note, also referred to as ‘Mrs F. Adams’ in the *Star*, 26 September 1876, p. 2). Charles Adams and his family lived in Canterbury between September 1876 and October 1882 (‘Notebook of CW Adams’, MS-Papers-1257, Alexander Turnbull Library).

<sup>408</sup> [www.rootschat.com/forum/index](http://www.rootschat.com/forum/index) Note, earthquake damage currently limits access to some Christchurch records; it is not yet known whether Fred Adams had previous surveying experience.

<sup>409</sup> Marriage notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 25 April 1879, p. 2.

<sup>410</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1259/1879.

<sup>411</sup> Marriage notice. *Wellington Independent*, 15 February 1870, p. 4.

September 1889.<sup>412</sup> It was the Sydney papers which provided the full story. Frederick ADAMS died in the Darlinghurst Gaol hospital, in custody as a failed suicide 'suffering from a wound in his throat'.<sup>413</sup> In August, when he inflicted this wound, it had not been considered serious. ADAMS stated that the reason he attempted to take his own life was because 'he had been unfairly treated by the Government'.<sup>414</sup> He had been employed as timekeeper to the unemployed.

Eliza's youngest brother, Edward John ADAMS, also spent time in New Zealand, working with his older brother Charles:

He then went to New Zealand, in which colony he spent five years, during which time he formed one of the survey party under his brother, Mr. Charles William ADAMS, who is now chief surveyor of Otago, New Zealand, and who, it may be added, is also a native of Tasmania.<sup>415</sup>

Edward ADAMS' *Cyclopedia* entry also stated that he had worked on his father's farm before going to New Zealand. His father died in 1869 when Edward was twenty-one, leaving him as possibly the only adult male ADAMS remaining in Tasmania to help organise the resettling of his mother in genteel poverty at Avoca.<sup>416</sup> It was therefore most likely that Edward ADAMS went to New Zealand in the early part of the 1870s while he was still young and seeking employment. He was back in Tasmania by the 1880s to woo and marry Charlotte Densley in June 1884.<sup>417</sup> When he first returned to Tasmania Edward ADAMS had 'followed grazing pursuits' until an accident 'resulted in his right leg being amputated'. During the 1890s he became the collector for the St Paul's Road Trust and provided 'local intelligence' reports to the *Launceston*

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<sup>412</sup> Death notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 3 October 1889. See also, New South Wales Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1541/1889.

<sup>413</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September 1889, p. 6.

<sup>414</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate*, 20 August 1889, p. 5. See also, *Evening News*, 20 August 1889, p. 6; *Balmain Observer and Western Suburbs Advertiser*, 24 August 1889, p. 6.

<sup>415</sup> *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, (Hobart, Maitland and Krone, 1900), v. 2, p. 178.

<sup>416</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Death 1869 273/35.

<sup>417</sup> Marriage notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 9 June 1884.



*Examiner*.<sup>418</sup> Edward ADAMS died in February 1917 at the age of 69, at his son's residence in the Tasmanian tin mining town of Weldborough.<sup>419</sup>

As for Eliza ADAMS, her letters demonstrate a young woman of steadfast values who was nevertheless interested in people and new places and willing to cheerfully endure some discomfort in order to partake of what New Zealand had to offer. After living the somewhat proscribed life of a gentleman's daughter at Longford, where she was unable to visit Kate WESTON at Maitland after the latter's marriage because 'I have only one brother at home now and he is very busy, so that I do not think he could be well spared to drive me up',<sup>420</sup> her parents surprisingly consented to her travelling alone to New Zealand where she was to be met by strangers when she disembarked at Port Chalmers.<sup>421</sup>

Charles ADAMS had requested that Eliza join him in New Zealand, supposedly because he was 'very homesick' and missing his large Tasmanian family.<sup>422</sup> In reality Eliza's role was to provide home comforts and running repairs, though she never described her work in detail: 'I really have been so busy doing things for my brother &c. before he leaves'.<sup>423</sup> In all such arrangements Eliza's wishes were secondary. Nevertheless once in New Zealand, where she was left to her own devices for five months, Eliza blossomed.<sup>424</sup> When she finally arrived in Wellington to be claimed by her brother, she was again expected to fit in with his wishes:

My brother met me at the steamer & we rode a hundred miles across the country in 3 days, I unfortunately fell off the first day (I never did such a stupid thing before) the horse shied & having a large parcel on to the pommel I was unable to grasp it & by that means regain my seat so I ignominiously came to the ground; for a little time I was in too much pain to move but seeing my brother so distressed I roused myself & got up; after a little time I mounted again & we rode 30 miles

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<sup>418</sup> *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, (Hobart, Maitland and Krone, 1900), v. 2, p. 178.

<sup>419</sup> Death notice. *Examiner*, 5 February 1917, p. 1.

<sup>420</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 20 April [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>421</sup> 'Had I gone when he wished he would have been there to meet and see to everything.' Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 20 April [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>422</sup> Elsie Crompton-Smith, 1986, cited in email, Maureen Powles, family history researcher.

<sup>423</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 14 October [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>424</sup> While in the nominal care of her brother, Eliza was billeted in at least ten different households between the Molyneux in the south and the Rangitikei on the North Island.

that day, 25 the 2<sup>nd</sup> and about 43 the third, so I think you will agree with me that I did very well considering. The views on our way from Wellington to Waikaraka<sup>425</sup> are delightful, we had a very high mountain to cross, the road of which is very winding, we looked down at intervals on ferns, trees &c, interspersed with pretty streams thousands of feet below us, the hills we had to ascend & descend were something dreadful, the 3<sup>rd</sup> day I was riding for 12 hours & I did not feel at all stiff or tired next morning, I only felt the effects of the fall, my back was very much bruised & is not well yet.<sup>426</sup>

This was not the only strenuous New Zealand horseback ride described by Eliza. The following year, after riding along a beach at night and being almost knocked off her horse by the incoming tide rebounding against the cliffs above, she wrote an exhilarating account of the incident followed by, 'I am afraid my minute description will weary you but I felt interested as I wrote & forgot that you might not find it quite interesting'.<sup>427</sup> Such a personality holds captivation for those who can see it, yet in Tasmania Eliza ADAMS felt that she would not marry because she 'never possessed the faculty of gaining people's hearts'.<sup>428</sup>

Eliza's chances of marriage in Tasmania were made more difficult by her family. According to the CLERKEs her ADAMS brothers were 'conceited' and, in the case of Charles, he had not 'improved' even after fourteen successful years in New Zealand.<sup>429</sup> Certainly in the ADAMS menfolk, there was a cavalier attitude to the feelings of others, such as Henry's lapse in filial duty in not notifying his parents of his New Zealand marriage, and Charles leaving Eliza to fend for herself when she first arrived in Otago, and later his open dislike of her husband. If they were apparent to the CLERKEs then such family failings would also have been clear to others, and it is possible that Eliza was also quietly aware of her brothers' lack of sensibility. The ADAMS' poverty, her father's lack

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<sup>425</sup> The property of the Moore family, near Masterton.

<sup>426</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 14 October [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>427</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 3 March 1866, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>428</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 3 December [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>429</sup> 'I do not think that Charles Adams has at all improved altho' he has been very successful in getting on.' Fanny Douglas to Kate Weston, 25 October 1876, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/15. Charles Adams' success was completely in accordance with the assertion that 'surveying was another profession [like banking] whose status increased' in New Zealand (J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 32).

of useful activity on behalf of his family, and the vague 'ungentlemanliness' of her brothers, all meant that even with her acknowledged skills (dressmaking, music, French, and horsemanship) Eliza was unlikely to find a husband among the comfortably-off conservative Tasmanian middle class which was her natural *milieu*. This probability was borne out by Eliza ADAMS' five older sisters, Jane, Mary, Harriet, Margaret and Louisa.<sup>430</sup> Only Jane found a husband in Tasmania, and she did not marry Joseph Francis Boulton until she was almost forty years old.<sup>431</sup>

All Eliza ADAMS could hope for in Tasmania was the life of a dependent daughter, a companion, or a governess. She admitted to her own reasons for wanting to go to New Zealand, reasons which included 'duty'.<sup>432</sup> She would be twenty years old by the time she reached Otago in May 1865 and the possibility of meeting with a suitable marriage partner in New Zealand would not have escaped her notice. Others had had the same thought, for when Eliza announced her engagement two years later Fanny wrote to her sister: 'the news about Eliza I was truly glad to hear I always hoped she would do something of the kind'.<sup>433</sup> In Wellington Eliza ADAMS met Charles Plummer POWLES, the son of a London stockbroker and a committed member of the Church of England, upright, with a strong sense of duty and 'uniform gentleness and courtesy'.<sup>434</sup>

Eliza had enough clarity of purpose to know her own strengths and weaknesses and was able to provide Kate with a lengthy explanation of exactly why she finally accepted Charles Plummer POWLES' proposal of marriage, ending with:

I have had a good many flirtations & little weaknesses for people since I have been in N. Z. but (God helping me) I have been enabled to keep

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<sup>430</sup> There was a sixth sister, Fanny Adams, but she died as a baby. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Death 1833 3277/34.

<sup>431</sup> Marriage notice. *Wellington Independent*, 15 February 1870, p. 4.

<sup>432</sup> 'I think (were it no pleasure to me) that it is my duty to go, but I cannot urge that as a reason because I should not like to divulge my reasons.' Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 27 October [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>433</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Weston, 27 March [1867], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/21.

<sup>434</sup> Obituary. *Dominion*, 15 August 1923.

myself from loving them, because I felt that they would hinder not help me.<sup>435</sup>

During Eliza's first two years in New Zealand her brother had found people to billet her in between her travels with him 'over much of the southern portion of the North Island, in those days almost un-roaded'.<sup>436</sup> Once she accepted Charles POWLES' proposal she became his responsibility. POWLES arranged for her to stay with the family of Major John Willoughby MARSHALL at Tutu Totara near Marton.<sup>437</sup> Eliza already knew the MARSHALLs from a previous visit and Charles POWLES had previously worked as tutor to the Major's children when he first arrived from England in 1863. They were married in the dining room at Tutu Totara in June 1869.<sup>438</sup>

The POWLES produced three sons and three daughters, all of whom were a credit to them. In particular, Charles Guy POWLES was to become chief of staff of the New Zealand Army in 1923 and Eliza's grandson, later Sir Guy Richardson POWLES, became New Zealand's first Ombudsman.<sup>439</sup> When she passed away in November 1930 Eliza received her own obituary. Her birthplace was not specified, but her best attributes were those of the Tasmanian middle class into which she had been born 85 years before: 'Mrs. Powles was a lady of fine personality and refinement, with the best ideals of the nineteenth century, a good friend and a splendid churchwoman'.<sup>440</sup>

If this chapter demonstrates nothing else, it is that the experiences of individuals within any family will always be varied. It would be too simple to allocate an overall failure or success mark to the ADAMS family and others like

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<sup>435</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 8 May [1867], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18.

<sup>436</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 11 November 1930, p. 13.

<sup>437</sup> Major Marshall's first wife had been Mary Swainson, sister of Edith Stanway Halcombe of Westoe who lived nearby and who promoted Eliza's relationship with Charles Powles. Eliza Adams also knew their sister-in-law, Mary Ann Swainson (née Arrowsmith) of Wellington (the founder of the Marsden School for Girls) who was in turn the sister of the Clerke's Tasmanian friend Sophia Wigan, wife of Dr Ernest Alfred Wigan of Evandale and Longford.

<sup>438</sup> Marriage notice. *Evening Post*, 23 June 1869, p. 2.

<sup>439</sup> C Aikman, 'Powles, Guy Richardson 1905-1994', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

<sup>440</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 11 November 1930, p. 13.

them who travelled to and worked in New Zealand. It was true that ADAMS senior failed to embrace his opportunities in Tasmania, yet in New Zealand at least two of his children realised their potential and contributed to the development of their new homeland.

The ADAMS family presents less variation in the way in which they undertook the journey across the Tasman Sea. They may have travelled alone, but at the same time they each had someone to go to. In the case of Henry ADAMS it was the CLERKE family which, however briefly, provided him with contacts in Invercargill. Charles went straight to Port Chalmers, yet had he required a safety net his brother was already domiciled in Southland. Eliza, Edward and Frederick all went to New Zealand in the train of Charles ADAMS and it is unlikely that they would have gone if he had not been there already.

It is not possible to determine which of the ADAMS siblings went to New Zealand fully intending to stay. It is probable that Henry, Charles, Frederick and Eliza all developed this intention at some point; the probable feelings of Edward and Louisa (chapter 6) are less clear.<sup>441</sup> Of the four intending 'migrants', the ratio of those who made their final home in New Zealand is high: three out of four. Fred ADAMS' return to Australia does not alter the fact that he and his siblings fit the pattern that the majority of the young single middle-class Tasmanians, who went to New Zealand after the advent of the gold rushes, generally remained there.

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<sup>441</sup> Louisa Adams was the only other sister to visit New Zealand. From Louisa's point of view this visit became an extended holiday, regardless of what her family may originally have hoped. Eliza Powles to Kate Weston, 5 December 1873, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/23.

## CHAPTER 4

### Among Friends

My reception here was extremely cordial, I was welcomed as if I were returning home rather than as a stranger.<sup>442</sup>

Thus wrote Eliza ADAMS in May 1865, in her first letter home to her friend Kate WESTON. She had been apprehensive at the thought of travelling across the Tasman, especially at the idea of being deposited alone on the wharf at Port Chalmers.<sup>443</sup> Eliza soon discovered however, that in New Zealand there was 'certainly no lack of friends'. She was 'delighted with both place & people'.<sup>444</sup> Here Eliza was referring to people she had met for the first time, only after her arrival in New Zealand. However her letters show that she also met at least ten Tasmanians in New Zealand during the first few years of her life there. After 1869 when she married and moved to Wellington, she would have met and maintained contact with many more.

Eliza ADAMS' experience of finding herself 'among friends' was true for the majority of middle-class Tasmanians who made the voyage to New Zealand. This is in accordance with the views expressed by Rollo Arnold in his 1986 paper on late nineteenth century trans-Tasman migration. Arnold asserted that some Australians 'crossed the Tasman to be among strangers, but more to be among friends and kin'.<sup>445</sup> He promised to develop this concept further in 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', using the question in his title to 'draw attention to the context of sentiment which underlies the

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<sup>442</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 30 May [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. Eliza's brother, Charles Adams, had arranged for her to be met by the family of William Dalrymple, a Dunedin merchant. While disappointed that Charles did not meet her, Eliza was careful never to openly criticise his actions.

<sup>443</sup> 'It seems so strange that Mama & Papa should consent now when my brother will be unable to meet me at Port Chalmers ... I feel rather down-hearted at the prospect of going such a distance by myself, and in the end to be met by strangers instead of my own dear brother.' Eliza Adams to Weston, 20 April [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>444</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 30 May [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>445</sup> R Arnold, 'The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration, 1885-1910', *Australian Economic History Review*, v. 26, 1986, p. 20.

statistics of migration research'.<sup>446</sup> However 'Family or Strangers?' was predominantly concerned with the concept of the 'perennial interchange' (chapter 7) and Arnold never devoted a whole paper to this theme of family and friendship connections. As with all his research, Arnold's contentions related to Australians as a whole regardless of place or class, and it is the relevance of this concept to the middle-class Tasmanians from this research group which forms the focus of this chapter.

This chapter will explore the reality of the concept of 'among friends' from Arnold's standpoint – that Australians in general more often than not went to New Zealand with, or to be with, their family and friends. 'Among friends' also raises the question of whether Tasmanians chose to congregate in one location over another and, if so, why this might have been the case. This chapter will then focus primarily on the extent of interconnectedness within this group of Tasmanians through one extended group of people in Southland who, before they left Tasmania, were already linked by family, friendship, geography, business and church. This group will be used to decide the question of whether their interconnections provided any motivation for crossing the Tasman Sea – in short, whether Arnold's 'among friends and kin' statement holds as true for Tasmanians as was claimed for Australians as a whole.

The letters of Eliza ADAMS contain 79 family names with a direct connection to New Zealand, of which 57 were from Tasmania and 24 were other people whose acquaintance she formed in New Zealand. The numerical inconsistency occurs because she met two of the Tasmanian families only after her arrival in New Zealand. Of the 57 Tasmanian families, 26 of these, or almost 45%, are currently confirmed to have at least one family member, and often more than one, in New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century. These 26 families equate to 86 individual adults which form the sample group for formulating the quantitative statements below.

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<sup>446</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 3.

### A congregation of Tasmanians?

Can mid-nineteenth century middle-class Tasmanians be shown to have congregated in one place over another once they arrived in New Zealand? Proof of congregation would assist in confirming Arnold's concept that people travelled among, or to arrive among, their friends and kin.

The government-produced *Statistics of New Zealand* provide no clear indication as to where in New Zealand a relatively large number of Tasmanians might have disembarked during the 1850s and 1860s. While the New Zealand censuses of 1861 and 1864 did count separately those immigrants from the 'Australian Colonies', the immigrants' specific colonies of origin were not recorded. The New Zealand censuses are also problematic as a source of accurate data because of what an 'Australian' might or might not be. Many Australians, as for New Zealanders at this time, would have been born elsewhere and would not therefore be counted as 'from Australia'. Among Eliza ADAMS' acquaintance, all of the 26 Tasmania-New Zealand families contained a parent or an older sibling who had been born in Britain or Europe. This group includes Charles Stammers BUTTON, who was born in England and travelled to Tasmania as a young boy. Likewise Eugene BELLAIRS, who was English but born in France and who moved to Launceston as an adult to join other members of his family. Also worth considering are the 2,921 people whose places of birth were 'Not Specified' in the December 1861 census – a figure greater than the total number of Australians at 2,579.<sup>447</sup> It is fair to assume that this group of 'unknowns' contained a goodly proportion of people who had been in the Australian colonies for one reason or another. Some of whom may also have been ex-convicts who would have been able to state, in all honesty, that they came from Britain.

Leaving behind the census records, what can be more usefully ascertained from the *Statistics* are those years in which the destinations of 'Australians' arriving in New Zealand changed – that is, people not necessarily born in

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<sup>447</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand for 1861*, (Auckland, New Zealand Government, 1862), p. ix, and Table 9.



Australia but those who had arrived in New Zealand from an Australian port.<sup>448</sup> Before 1858 Australians were included in the 'British Colonies' column. This early data merely indicates that these people originally favoured the North Island and that during the 1850s there began a very slow but steady increase in traffic through the southern ports. In 1858, when 'Australian Colonies' immigrants were granted their own column in the *Statistics*, they still followed this trend with 981 'Australian' individuals entering the North Island, and less than half that number (429) entering the south.<sup>449</sup> The following year the change towards the south was more pronounced with 1,812 Australians arriving *via* northern ports and 1,311 going to the South Island.<sup>450</sup> The entry of Australians into the South Island finally outstripped the north in 1861 with 1,498 individuals recorded in the south, as opposed to 1,081 in the north.<sup>451</sup> In 1862 the statistics caught up with the gold rush and Australians suddenly formed 74% of all immigrants into New Zealand, with 23,766 Australians entering the South Island (mostly at Dunedin) and only 1,553 arriving *via* the North Island.<sup>452</sup>

While these statistics for 'Australian Colonies' immigrants do not clarify the when and where of Tasmanians entering New Zealand, data collected for the 86 Tasmanians in the ADAMS letters does indicate that they also fitted the prevailing Australian trend. Seventy-four of these 86 Tasmanians travelled to New Zealand after the December 1861 census was taken, that is, the majority travelled there during the gold rushes. Therefore by far the majority of these Tasmanians began their New Zealand experience in the South Island, as opposed to only twelve individuals who went first to the north. It is pointless to attempt to break down these figures any further because the data quickly becomes meaningless. For example, the Hobart lawyer Albert PITT did not settle anywhere near his original port of entry. He arrived in Dunedin in 1864 and was admitted to the New Zealand bar there, but by April that year he had

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<sup>448</sup> A useful discussion of the factors which 'hid' the number of Tasmanians travelling to New Zealand during the gold rushes is contained in R Kellaway, 'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush 1861-1865', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 46, no. 4, December 1999, pp. 222-224.

<sup>449</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand for 1858*, (Auckland, New Zealand Government, 1859), Table 3.

<sup>450</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand for 1859*, (Auckland, New Zealand Government, 1860), Table 3.

<sup>451</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand for 1861*, (Auckland, New Zealand Government, 1862), Table 9.

<sup>452</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand for 1862*, (Auckland, New Zealand Government, 1863), Table 2.

already moved on to Nelson where he was to spend the rest of his life.<sup>453</sup>

Hence an arrival at one New Zealand port did not necessarily make that place one's final destination.

As to whether Australians preferred one South Island destination over another, statistics for the early 1860s indicate that Southland was not particularly favoured by Australians as a whole. From 1861-1871 the number of Australians entering Southland ranged between 163 and 382 per annum, and these numbers were always eclipsed by Otago and, in most years, by either Canterbury and/or Westland as well.<sup>454</sup> In fact, if the 1861, 1865 and 1869<sup>455</sup> figures for Australians travelling to Southland and Otago are averaged, 189 people entered Southland and Otago received 1,352, making Southland's intake a mere 12% of their joint total. Nevertheless this research indicates that Southland was a recognised destination for middle-class Tasmanians, even if it never was for Australians as a whole; possibly in part explained by the greater ease with which Tasmania's smaller vessels could sail up the New River to the wharves in the town.<sup>456</sup> Overall Dunedin still remained the favoured port of entry for Tasmanians, though only by a much lesser margin. Twenty-one adults from this research group are known to have disembarked in Southland, as opposed to 30 in Otago; thus the percentage for Tasmanians in Southland becomes a much higher 41% and therefore substantially different to the 12% for Australians as a whole.

First-hand testimonies from this research group indicate that a perceived predilection for Southland is not a mere statistical anomaly. It is clear that throughout Southland at this period it would have been relatively easy for Tasmanians to maintain a daily contact with their fellow islanders.<sup>457</sup> In the

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<sup>453</sup> Obituary. *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 19 November 1906, p. 5.

<sup>454</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand*, (New Zealand Government, issues for 1861-1871). Note that before 1868 Canterbury included Westland.

<sup>455</sup> The figures for every fourth year were chosen to avoid 1862, the year in which Otago received 22,972 Australians, a figure which would have skewed the data too completely in favour of Otago.

<sup>456</sup> R Kellaway, 'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush 1861-1865', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 46, no. 4, December 1999, p. 222.

<sup>457</sup> An interesting juxtaposition perhaps to Fairburn's assertion that 'social isolation was the prevailing tendency' in New Zealand society. M Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*:

Invercargill area especially, this daily contact would have been unavoidable. In his 1869 *Mercury* articles about Southland, the anonymous 'A. Tasmanian' referred to meeting with people he knew from home: 'I found the mention of my name a passport to the warm hospitality of the proprietor's sons and overseer, on arriving at the station'.<sup>458</sup> He also described stays at two country accommodation houses run by Tasmanians, and another night spent at the home of a possible ex-convict: 'Into Mrs Biddy's antecedents it were, perhaps, best not to enquire too closely'.<sup>459</sup>

During the twenty years covered by this research Invercargill, and the area immediately surrounding it, supported the following people who are mentioned in the WESTON correspondence: Eliza ADAMS's brother, Henry; the CLERKE brothers, John and Thomas, and their wives, Ellen and Helen, and the people who travelled with them from Tasmania, like Solomon and Catherine Shepherd and their family, and visitors such as Fanny CLERKE and Marianne PATON, as well as Beresford Huey and his sisters, Edwina and Louisa; The Reverend Benjamin and Eliza DRAKE's family, and the extended BUTTON family and all who knew them, such as Charles and William Rout, Robert and Sarah Wesney and Thomas Woolnough; Richard, Jane, and Nicholas CLAYTON; John Henry KERR and his sister Emmiline; Robert and Emily Aitken, with Emily's brother RW HARRISON; the Stephen SPURLINGS, father and son; George Stanton and Jane Crouch and family, and the people to whom he was connected, such as his brother-in-law CW Brown, and his mentor John Hamilton; the three sons of Captain William Wood, William de Gouges, Louis Mabile and Henry Beauchamp, and their sister Annie and her husband Thomas GROOM; representatives of the Hobart firm of Maning and Whitton connected by marriage to the PITT family of Hobart and Nelson; John and Mary Turnbull; Colin and Isabella Nicol Campbell; and the Gilles brothers, Louis and Alfred, who would have been known to everyone else through their father's early

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*The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1989), p. 191.

<sup>458</sup> The Jacob's River property of Christopher Bastian, ex-Hobartian. D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69*, by "A. Tasmanian", (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 37.

<sup>459</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69*, by "A. Tasmanian", (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), pp. 18, 27, and 41.

association with the Launceston Bank for Savings and his relationships with the Oakden and Horne families.<sup>460</sup>

Of the 37 adults named above (that is, those whose names appear in the WESTON correspondence, whose names appear in capitals or are underlined) eleven were predominantly engaged in agricultural pursuits and 26 were based in Invercargill itself; although when they could afford it, some had a foot in both camps, like the CLERKEs and the CLAYTONs. Hence at any one time 70% of this admittedly small group of people could be found in and around the equally small settlement of Invercargill, a growing town which in 1859 had contained barely a thousand people.<sup>461</sup> Such a percentage amply reinforces the sentiment that Tasmanians travelling to Southland would have expected to find themselves 'among friends'.

### Why Southland?

Statistics can never tell the whole story. They cannot deal with the minutiae of why a relatively large number of middle-class Tasmanians chose to go to Southland. Obviously there would have been as many personal reasons as there were individuals. However, three overriding reasons for middle-class Tasmanians moving to New Zealand were common to all: a depressed home economy, the physical proximity of Southland, and the opening up of new land for settlement in the South Island. The perception of the South Island as a less warlike locale than the North Island would also have predisposed Tasmanian entrepreneurs like Alexander CLERKE to invest there.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> Stefan Petrow, 'A bank that works for the people', *Examiner*, 11 November 2006, p. 32. By 1843 Lewis W Gilles was manager of the Union Bank of Australia in Launceston, when it advertised itself as the bank selected for New Zealand Company settlements (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 21 August 1843, p. 1).

<sup>461</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, p. 173. Note in chapter 3, that in 1869 Thomas Clerke stated that after a little over ten years in Southland he was 'acquainted with nearly all its inhabitants'.

<sup>462</sup> For example, 'Maori in Otago were "quiet, peaceful, harmless creatures"'. Letter from Philip Laing passenger, 2 May 1848. *Otago Journal*, November 1848, p. 43, cited in, P Wood, *Dirt, Filth and Decay in a New World Arcadia*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2005), p. 18. For Clerke and his friends the 'depredations' of Van Diemen's Land's Aborigines in the Norfolk Plains area, where many of them lived, were well within living memory. For example, the call on Dr Paton to deal with spear wounds in 1831 (N Clements, *The Black War: Fear, Sex, and Resistance in Tasmania*, (Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 2014), p. 159).

Tasmania's depression began in the late 1850s and extended into the 1870s and was both severe and prolonged.<sup>463</sup> It would have appeared endless to the younger generation coming of age in the early 1860s. The impact of this depression can be seen as providing a reason for crossing the Tasman Sea for all the Tasmanians in this sample, and the reality for young legal practitioners like Charles Edward BUTTON (below) further illustrates this point. In the early 1860s, when it was being said of New Zealand that 'good criminal and common law barristers would make fine fortunes', Tasmania's law firms found themselves unable to absorb all of that colony's newly-admitted barristers.<sup>464</sup> In 1863 *Walch's Almanack* [sic] listed 33 lawyers admitted to the bar during the previous seven years.<sup>465</sup> The pace of admissions increased, with a further 29 during the next three and a half years.<sup>466</sup> This represented a major increase when only 54 attorneys had been enrolled in Tasmania throughout the almost 40 years prior to 1863.<sup>467</sup> For professional men of the educated middle-class Tasmania's depression left them with a lack of career opportunities and the possibility of bankruptcy rather than the life or death struggle of outright unemployment and starvation faced by the working class. Nevertheless the desire to practise one's profession and to acquire financial security within one's own class was, and remains still, a powerful motivation for migration.

The south of New Zealand's South Island provided particular incentives for Tasmanian entrepreneurs. The most obvious was its proximity. A voyage between Hobart/Launceston and Bluff/Port Chalmers would generally take fewer than ten days.<sup>468</sup> Ocean-going improved to such an extent that by 1877 Fanny DOUGLAS (née CLERKE) was able to describe one of her trips as 'the quickest [passage] that has yet been made' at three and a half days between Hobart and Bluff, followed by an overnight steam up to Port Chalmers where

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<sup>463</sup> See for example, B Meikle, 'Hard Times in the Golden Age: The Long Depression of Tasmania, 1857-1875', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, v. 15, 2010. Also, WA Townsley, 'Tasmania and the Great Economic Depression, 1858-1872', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 4, no. 2, July 1955.

<sup>464</sup> BA Heywood, *A Vacation Tour at the Antipodes: Through Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, in 1861-1862*, (London, Longman, 1863), p. 225.

<sup>465</sup> *Walch's Tasmanian Almanack* [sic] and *Guide to Tasmania for 1863*, pp. 40-42.

<sup>466</sup> *Walch's Tasmanian Almanac and Guide to Tasmania for 1867*, p. 58.

<sup>467</sup> *Walch's Tasmanian Almanack* [sic] and *Guide to Tasmania for 1863*, pp. 40-42.

<sup>468</sup> The ports for Invercargill and Dunedin respectively.

she arrived 'in time for breakfast'.<sup>469</sup> Being so close, it was possible for Tasmanians to move to centres like Invercargill without being fully committed to staying there. Sons and factotums had no excuse not to report back constantly, and entrepreneurs like Alexander CLERKE could make regular visits of inspection.<sup>470</sup> It was easy to return home again if the venture did not work out, or if one's wife or children became ill.

The opening up of new land in New Zealand's far south would also have shone as a beacon in the souls of entrepreneurial Tasmanians. These were colonists already well aware of the advantages of being first on the ground after participating in or witnessing the opening up of Victoria. This aspect of the Tasmanian colonial psyche will be dealt with more fully in chapter 7.<sup>471</sup> Victoria had provided Tasmania with a ready market and it would have been expected that Invercargill would do the same. Southland also had the bonus of neighbouring Otago, settled in 1848 by two shiploads of selected migrants and, after 1861, the gold rush port with a population that was to reach of 27,163 by December of that year.<sup>472</sup> Here was another potential market within a day or three by sea, demonstrated by Charles Stammers BUTTON first taking his Tasmanian produce to Dunedin in 1862 before heading south to Invercargill to establish his business premises there.<sup>473</sup>

While these are cogent reasons why Tasmanians would have wanted to move to, or invest in, Southland, their sources of information about New Zealand's southern regions are not immediately obvious. This raises the question of what else might have led them to choose Southland and whether their sources of information have any bearing on the concept of 'among friends'.

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<sup>469</sup> Fanny Douglas to Anne Moriarty, 19 September 1877, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/28. Similarly, a passage of five days from Hobart to Port Chalmers had been recorded in 1868, not to mention the races between ships (W Lawson, and the Shiplovers' Society of Tasmania, *Blue Gum Clippers and Whale Ships of Tasmania*, (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1949; facsimile edition, Victoria, The Book Printer, 1986), pp. 106-107.

<sup>470</sup> A possible total of seven visits in as many years (1857-1864); see chapter 3.

<sup>471</sup> See also chapter 14, in J Boyce, *1835, The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011).

<sup>472</sup> The December 1861 census also attributed 1,820 persons to the independent Southland. *Lyttelton Times*, 21 February 1863, p. 5.

<sup>473</sup> CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, p. 75 (note the page number 75 has been used twice).

For the pre-gold rush travellers of the 1850s their local Tasmanian newspapers prove not to have provided the relevant information that might have been expected. For example, there was no discernible interest in the Murihiku Purchase or in the 'southern districts' of Otago in Tasmania's newspapers of the time.<sup>474</sup> The word 'Murihiku' did not appear in print in Tasmania until 1858 when Southlanders presented a petition to secede from Otago and used the term to describe themselves.<sup>475</sup> Similarly there was little mention of 'Invercargill' immediately after it was named and proclaimed in January 1856, though what was reported was salient. Hobart's *Courier* stated in May that year that the harbour at Bluff was henceforth a recognized port of entry into New Zealand and that a customs officer had been sent there. The article went on to say that a township had been formed, along with the welcome news that 'the harbour is very good, and the soil well suited for either agricultural or pastoral purposes. Many persons had gone down there from other parts of the [South] island'.<sup>476</sup> This article was not however a promotional piece and comprised the briefest of statements. Surprisingly there were no mentions of Invercargill in Tasmanian newspapers during 1857, and only two in 1858. These latter provided the useful information that 'strangers [required] a pilot' to enter the New River harbour at Invercargill.<sup>477</sup> Thereafter the reports increased, with seventeen in 1859, by which time entrepreneurs like Alexander CLERKE had already made their move across the Tasman and no longer needed newspapers to remind them that this was indeed an opportunity.<sup>478</sup>

During the 1850s Southland was still a part of Otago and not a separate province. It was men from Otago who had brought about the Murihiku Purchase

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<sup>474</sup> The common (at that time) New Zealand phrase 'southern districts' appeared in Tasmanian newspapers only four times between the years 1853-1861 (i.e. in relation to New Zealand; the phrase was also used within each of the Australian colonies).

<sup>475</sup> *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 3 August 1858, p. 6.

<sup>476</sup> *Courier*, 9 May 1856, p. 2.

<sup>477</sup> *Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 22 December 1858, p. 2. *Launceston Examiner*, 28 December 1858, p. 2.

<sup>478</sup> Most of these seventeen newspaper entries were repeated advertisements: eight were shipping intelligence, seven referred to a property for sale outside Invercargill, one was a report that Invercargill (among other places) had been declared a warehousing port, and one was an article describing Bluff Harbour and the New River area taken from a lecture by the Chief Surveyor of Otago and providing some useful information for settlers.

of around 6,900,000 acres from local Māori.<sup>479</sup> Among the party that in 1854 ‘walked overland from Dunedin to Invercargill to pay over the purchase money’ was Edmund Hooke Wilson BELLAIRS, a Dunedin sojourner and an enthusiast for the New Zealand Company’s system of immigration.<sup>480</sup> BELLAIRS was the only person among this party known to have any connection with Tasmania, albeit tenuous. His cousin, Eugene BELLAIRS, worked as a surveyor for the New Zealand Company (chapter 2) and Eugene’s mother and sister were domiciled in Northern Tasmania during the 1850s.<sup>481</sup> A close connection with the ADAMS and CLERKE families is indicated by the contact maintained with the BELLAIRS ladies by Eliza and Kate and their friends after the BELLAIRS’ school was moved to Hobart in mid-1860.<sup>482</sup> Such connections, and the family correspondence generated by them, would have provided the BELLAIRS with interesting first-hand accounts of life on New Zealand’s southern island with which to pique the curiosity of the people of Longford long before the newspapers caught up.<sup>483</sup>

Whether or not the BELLAIRS ladies provided information too late for it to have been of use, others able to talk with authority about early 1850s New Zealand formed an influential list. In Tasmania’s upper middle-class circles the New Zealand experiences of such men would have been talked over with interest. Among those with the means to tell tales of pre-1860 New Zealand (and separate to those people already discussed in chapter 2) were the PITT, Meredith, and Kermode families. Phillip PITT of the southern Tasmanian Hunting Ground estate is stated to have gone to Canterbury in the 1840s ‘in spite of numerous warnings against such a venture’ and by 1850 had returned home again with experiences to relate. He would have been able to talk with

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<sup>479</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 2, p. 601.

<sup>480</sup> Entry for Hugh Cameron. *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Otago and Southland Provincial Districts*, (Wellington, Cyclopedia Company Ltd., 1905), v. 4, p. 1088. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

<sup>481</sup> Advertisement. *Launceston Examiner*, 20 February 1858, p. 6. Note an earlier advertisement (cottage for rent) indicating that Mesdames Bellairs were at Perth prior to taking over Longford Hall (*Launceston Examiner*, 28 February 1857, p. 3).

<sup>482</sup> Rachel Kilpatrick to Kate Clerke, 3 June 1860, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/41. See also, Lydia Douglas to Kate Clerke, 19 May 1859, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/40.

<sup>483</sup> Note that EHW Bellairs married his cousin, Emilia Bellairs, making it more likely that correspondence between the women would have continued even if the men were otherwise engaged.



authority about his disappointments in Canterbury and his belief in the very real threat posed by Māori chiefs such as Te Rauparaha.<sup>484</sup>

The New Zealand experience of the Inspector of Schools, Thomas Arnold, was previously ruled out as a catalyst for the ADAMS family to later move to New Zealand. However Arnold's travels about Van Diemen's Land, where he dined with respectable settlers and was billeted in their homes, would have seen him regularly questioned about his impressions of New Zealand. One such 1850 billet was the home of Captain Frederick Edmund CHALMERS and his second wife Ann (née Butler) of Bagdad whose daughter and son would both settle in New Zealand.<sup>485</sup> Jane Caroline CHALMERS was whisked off to New Zealand immediately after her 1852 marriage to Edwin Meredith.<sup>486</sup> Around 1853 her brother, Frederick Bisdee CHALMERS, also moved to New Zealand where fourteen years later he married Eliza ADAMS' friend Ellen MOORE.<sup>487</sup>

A more rewarding New Zealand experience was enjoyed by Edwin Meredith of Cambria on Tasmania's East Coast, who made 'a cruise' to Wellington and Lyttelton in 1850.<sup>488</sup> He returned to describe what he had seen of the 'Canterbury Plains, & exhibited copies of the Pastoral regulations as framed and published by Sir Geo. Grey, as also those of the Canterbury & Otago Associations'.<sup>489</sup> Meredith's enthusiasm for New Zealand resulted in his father bankrolling his aspirations. The following year he again crossed the Tasman to become, by his own reckoning, 'the pioneer pastoralist of South Molyneux'.<sup>490</sup> He returned home temporarily in 1852 to marry Jane Caroline CHALMERS

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<sup>484</sup> KR Von Stieglitz, *A Short History of Campbell Town and the Midland Pioneers*, (Launceston, Telegraph Printery, 1948), p. 30.

<sup>485</sup> J Bertram (ed.), *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger, with Further Letters from Van Diemen's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough 1847-1851*, (Auckland, University of Auckland/Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 191-192.

<sup>486</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1852 523/37.

<sup>487</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1867/5806.

<sup>488</sup> E Meredith, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896, p. 15. Note that Edwin was a brother-in-law of Tasmania's literary lioness, Louisa Anne Meredith.

<sup>489</sup> 'Mr. Edwin Meredith Relates Past Experiences. An Interesting Interview', extract from *Wairarapa Age*, 18 October 1906 (photocopy located in the back of, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896, held by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Historical Society, Swansea). The Molyneux area is south of Dunedin.

<sup>490</sup> In his own reminiscences Meredith does actually acknowledge Thomas Wiltshire as 'the original Pioneer Settler of the Molyneux'. E Meredith, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896, p. 44.

providing him with ample opportunity to broadcast additional information about his progress in New Zealand's far south.<sup>491</sup>

The importance of this word-of-mouth testimony would have been paramount for disseminating information about New Zealand's southern districts, especially during the 1850s when Tasmanian newspaper reports were so sparse. Word-of-mouth was not only a necessary part of the decision-making process for prospective migrants but also reinforces the 'among friends' principle. One could benefit from the experience of one's friends and also be provided with an introduction to new places and people at the same time.

By the time of the post-1861 influx of younger professional men into Southland and Otago information about New Zealand was easy to come by, especially as by 1861 direct steamer communication had been 'established with Melbourne', the route by which most middle-class Tasmanians travelled to New Zealand.<sup>492</sup> The progress of each new gold rush was eagerly reported in the Tasmanian press. Similarly, the personal business of earlier entrepreneurs like Alexander CLERKE was by this time well-known enough to be bandied about in the press. One example was the *Launceston Examiner's* 1862 assertion that he was a New Zealand 'woolocrat', followed by CLERKE's immediate denial.<sup>493</sup>

### Interconnectedness

Of special import are the connections between people which are based on friendship and mutual trust. It is the everyday reality of the discourse between neighbours that forms the focus of this chapter. The family connections of middle-class Tasmanians moving to New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century are dealt with only briefly here. The usefulness of family bonds is both obvious and to be expected and has already been illustrated through the ADAMS and CLERKE family histories in chapter 3.

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<sup>491</sup> E Meredith, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896, p. 17. After returning to New Zealand after his wedding, Meredith discovered that he had lost his Molyneux selection to the Otago Association and, not impressed by this turn of events, moved north to settle near Masterton.

<sup>492</sup> *Southland Daily News*, 1861, cited in, L Esler, *150 Years Invercargill 1856-2006*, (Invercargill, self-published, 2006), p. 34.

<sup>493</sup> 'Mr. Clerke said he had not one sheep in New Zealand, and he only possessed about 620 ewes and their lambs in this country.' *Launceston Examiner*, 20 November 1862, pp. 4-5.

The use of interconnectedness as a tool in the study of people movement is becoming more widespread. It is found in connection with the Antipodes in Ballantyne's *Webs of Empire* (chapter 1). Ballantyne's contention that 'these webs were constantly remaking the places and peoples that made up New Zealand' also firmly positions the concept of interconnectedness at the forefront of any discussion about the implications of people movement between Tasmania and New Zealand.<sup>494</sup>

Dictionary definitions of interconnectedness are eminently relevant to any study of people movement and any exploration of their motivations for moving. To 'connect mutually and intimately' is a given for this group of mid-nineteenth century middle-class Tasmanians, and on the whole they chose their own connections through their family alliances and personal friendships. They also fulfil a second definition of interconnectedness, by associating with each other in a 'multitude of ways'.<sup>495</sup> Through the resources now available for family history research many details of their interactions can be proven: through their business alliances and transactions, by their attracting the attention of others who then wrote about them, through the schools in which their parents chose to enrol them, by being recorded as voting for each other, by their attendance at the same social events – in short, through all the ramifications of their everyday lives.

Tasmania and New Zealand were island communities which developed a similar population base. The 1861 census population of 89,977 for Tasmania was surpassed in December that same year by New Zealand's figure of 99,021. This was barely six months after the Otago gold rush began in earnest.<sup>496</sup> As islands, both colonies were thus also predestined to form themselves into tight communities. For example, the epithet 'That Tight Little Island' was used by both Tasmania and New Zealand, though its association with Tasmania

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<sup>494</sup> T Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012), p. 295.

<sup>495</sup> W Geddie (ed.), *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary*, (revised edition, 1965).

<sup>496</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 21 February 1863, p. 5.

remains the most constant.<sup>497</sup> The first specifically Tasmanian use is found in the *Colonial Times* of 1838 when Van Diemens Land was referred to as 'this snug little tight little Island of ours'.<sup>498</sup> In New Zealand in 1869 the *West Coast Times* printed a letter which discussed celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of Cook's landing and appended the phrase 'the new tight little Island' to New Zealand.<sup>499</sup> Regardless of the possible dates of first usage, tightness has many meanings. Compactness and miserliness must have their place in any interpretation, as does the sense that both places have snug communities of people mutually bound together. A 'tight' community (what Louisa Anne Meredith also described as 'this little community'<sup>500</sup>) provided the interest in detail and *minutiae* that was essential for the dissemination of personal and business information, as well as for maintaining links 'among friends' during any relocation to another colony.<sup>501</sup>

Such close interconnectedness between people was not without its drawbacks. In both places much of the connection between Tasmanians would have been circumstantial, the result of geography rather than choice. Circumstantial interconnectedness also implies that some associations could have been unwelcome. For example, Fanny CLERKE was not necessarily pleased to encounter her fellow Tasmanians on the streets of Invercargill. The 'vulgar' Henry ADAMS would have tested her complaisance.<sup>502</sup> Neither was she overjoyed at the arrival of the Huey sisters, which meant the loss of the piano on which she had relied for her own practice.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> The earliest use of a 'Tight Little Island' found in Australian newspapers originally referred to England (*Monitor*, 23 June 1826, p. 4). The phrase appeared in what was already an 'old song' when the words were printed in a Sydney newspaper in 1831 (*Monitor*, 15 October 1831, p. 2).

<sup>498</sup> *Colonial Times*, 28 August 1838, p. 5.

<sup>499</sup> *West Coast Times*, 7 October 1869, p. 2. Note, the first time that New Zealand newspapers used this soubriquet for Tasmania was in 1883 when their Special Turf Correspondent described his passage across Bass Strait to the 'tight little island' (*Otago Witness*, 10 March 1883, p. 21).

<sup>500</sup> With more implied by 'little' than the purely physical. LA Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania: During a Residence of Nine Years*, (London, 1852; reprint, Swansea, Glamorgan Spring Bay Historical Society, 2003), v. 1, p. 36.

<sup>501</sup> Belich uses 'tightening' as in closing or bridging 'the big social rift of class'. J Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 121.

<sup>502</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 16 November [1863], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

<sup>503</sup> 'Since the Miss Hueys came down Helen has lost the piano and it has been a great loss. I almost forget any knowledge I had of how to play or sing.' Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 16 November [1863], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47.

### Interconnectedness and the BUTTON family

Much of the social history of migrant and sojourner research has concentrated on the ability, or otherwise, of the emigrant to re-establish their social ties anew in an unfamiliar land. Emigrants were supposed to have been without the relationships and support they had enjoyed at home. For many the reality was quite different. Although Magee and Thompson (below) are addressing British immigration to the New World, the same was also true for Tasmanians voyaging to New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century:

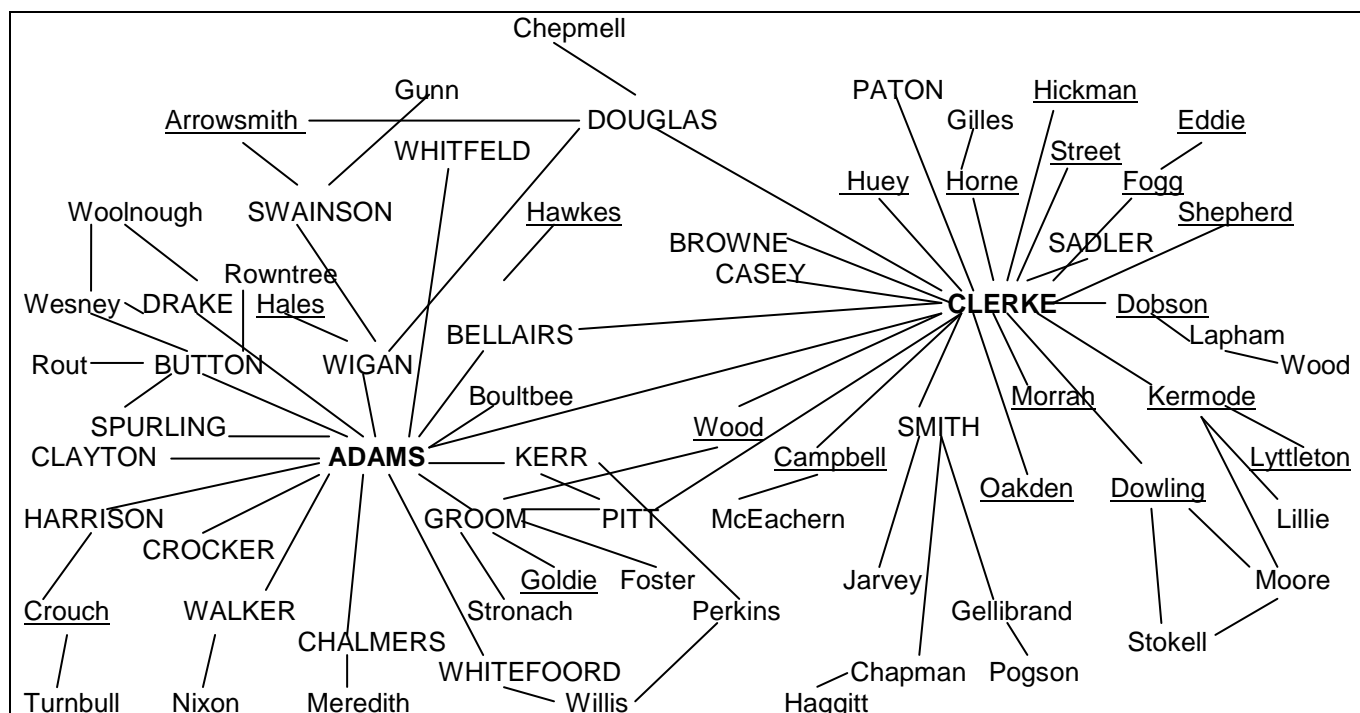
The prior migration of family, friends, fellow believers and acquaintances meant that many emigrants could look forward to a warm welcome and that it was easier for them to integrate into their new surroundings. This fact in itself could act as a strong lure to relocate.<sup>504</sup>

The story of the BUTTON family demonstrates just how interconnected a small group of Tasmanians could be. Their relationships operated at various levels and indicate a spread of connection beyond even Tasmania and New Zealand. Henry BUTTON, one member of the family who remained in Launceston, published his autobiography *Flotsam and Jetsam* in 1909.<sup>505</sup> This is an extremely useful work for piecing together relationships and events only partly gleaned from Eliza ADAMS' letters, newspapers, and other family records. *Flotsam and Jetsam* is proof that a wholly Tasmanian narrative can still be of immeasurable value in connecting (and personalising) people and events in another colony.

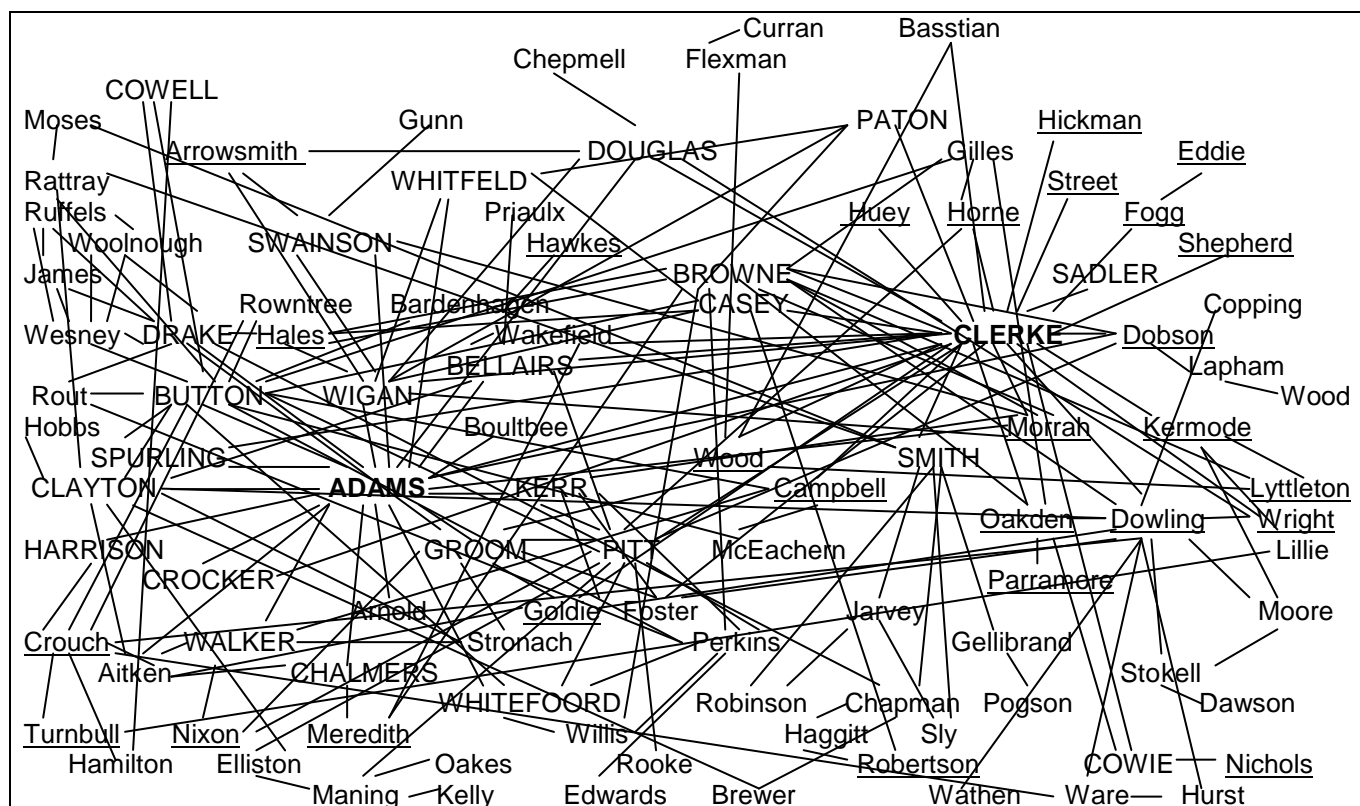
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<sup>504</sup> GB Magee and AS Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 56.

<sup>505</sup> H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993).



**Figure 6.** An indication of the interconnectedness of middle-class Tasmanians who went to New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century. This chart uses the ADAMS and CLERKE families as the focal points from which names found in the WESTON correspondence can radiate. Names in capitals are from Eliza ADAMS' letters, and the underlined names are from the wider WESTON papers. Additional names include families into which these people married, along with occasional close business and personal relationships.



**Figure 7.** This figure illustrates the bewildering number of interconnections that exist between people in the reality of their everyday lives. With the inclusion of a mere selection of their additional known business and friendship associations, figure 6 quickly becomes untenable.

The BUTTONs were typical of this middle-class group: largely entrepreneurial, devout (they were Independents) and, for the most part, upwardly mobile. They had arrived in Launceston during the 1830s as an extended family group and established businesses in tanning, brewing, and printing. Their sons were part of the post-1861 move to Southland. They were never miners themselves but were attracted by the economic opportunities offered by the gold rushes, rather than the availability of land.

This assemblage of people also comprised a variety of age groups. The BUTTONS were cousins, but while Charles Edward was 25 years old and newly wed when he went to Invercargill in 1863, Charles Stammers BUTTON was 32 with a well-established business in Launceston and the father of a child. This group also included older heads of families such as The Reverend Benjamin DRAKE who was 53 and married with three surviving children. Eliza ADAMS however did not consider DRAKE to be 'old'. She described him immediately prior to his departure as, 'about 50 years of age, very strong and hale'.<sup>506</sup> Along with the other people referred to below the BUTTONS went to Southland accompanied by, or about to meet with, a microcosm of the community they had known at home. This report of their Tasmania-New Zealand story begins in November 1862 and follows a chronological trajectory.

The first to leave Launceston was Charles Stammers BUTTON. In September 1857 he had married a New Zealander, Mary Rout, whom he met when she was visiting her relations in Hobart.<sup>507</sup> This fact is interesting in itself as CS BUTTON was the only person from this research group to marry a New Zealand bride before he went there. It indicates that a two-way traffic existed even at this early period in New Zealand's history, in this instance based on family rather than business interests.

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<sup>506</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 14 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>507</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1857 544/37. CS Button had earlier been sent to Hobart as a boarder where one of his school friends was Fred Rout. It was Button's parents who introduced him to Mary Rout (CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, p. 66, and 75).

In Launceston CS BUTTON had been trained as a brewer by his father before entering into business with Captain Edward Ditcham.<sup>508</sup> Together they built up a mixed business including a timber yard, shipping agency and brewery. In November 1862, immediately after his wife and child had returned from a family visit to Auckland:

Our firm decided to send a cargo of miscellaneous articles<sup>509</sup> to the Southern Settlement, so we fitted out the "Mayflower" and I went in charge of the cargo – I sold part of i[t] in Dunedin,<sup>510</sup> and took the rest to Invercargill, where finding some difficulty in making sales I landed the goods & sent the boat back. I erected a wooden house which I had brought over, on a piece of ground which I leased and commenced selling my goods.<sup>511</sup>

This stopover in Invercargill was written as though it was but the decision of a moment, yet BUTTON had taken with him all that he required to be able to stay there. Also with BUTTON on this first voyage of the *Mayflower* were The Reverend Benjamin DRAKE and '1 steerage'.<sup>512</sup>

Travelling with companions other than one's own family was not uncommon for Tasmanians crossing the Tasman. The chaperoning necessary for respectable females was one reason for travelling with others, but there was also a movement of staff and on some voyages everyone on board would be connected in some way. Many of these middle-class Tasmanian entrepreneurs could afford to charter a vessel as was the case for CS BUTTON, and in the

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<sup>508</sup> J Paterson, *A Fortune May Be Made: Launceston's 19<sup>th</sup> Century Breweries*, (Launceston, Friends of the Library, 2007), pp. 11-12.

<sup>509</sup> Ditcham, Button & Company's 'miscellaneous cargo' comprised: '17,000 ft timber, 137 bags lime, 3000 bricks, 40 bags bran, 50 ditto flour, 2 wooden houses, 6000 shingles, 5000 palings, 20 hhds [hogs heads], 26 casks bottled beer, 3 cases hams and bacon, 100 doors, 100 pair sashes, 4000 laths'. *Launceston Examiner*, 18 November 1862, p. 4.

<sup>510</sup> CS Button may have been tempted to go first to Dunedin because of the presence there of Edward Casson Rowntree senior and junior (the latter related to the Buttons through marriage). The Rowntrees were from Hobart and had established a timber yard in Dunedin in March 1862, eight months before Button's visit.

<sup>511</sup> CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, p. 74 [the page number 74 has been used twice].

<sup>512</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 18 November 1862, p. 4. Mrs Drake and the children remained in Tasmania. A son, Francis Henry Dowling Drake (named for the Reverend Henry Dowling of Launceston, himself the grandfather of another New Zealand settler, Thomas Tayspill Dowling) was born in Launceston in April 1863. He died nine months later at Invercargill in January 1864. *Family Milestones* (ms).



previous decade for Alexander CLERKE, Henry CLAYTON, and pastoralists moving stock such as RQ Kermode and George Moore. An invitation to board the *Mayflower* would have been extended to The Reverend DRAKE for reasons deeper than his immediate need to cross the Tasman.

DRAKE had particularly impressed Eliza ADAMS when he was a guest of her parents in the days before he left Launceston: 'he is one of whom you might say that he rejoiced in the Lord ... I wish he could have stayed here longer'.<sup>513</sup> For the BUTTONs he had more to recommend him than piety as their mutual connections stretched back to their previous lives in England. The Essex friends and relations of DRAKE's wife, Eliza (*née* Brown), were the same Home associations maintained by the BUTTON family.<sup>514</sup> It is more than probable that the BUTTONs being settled in Launceston strengthened DRAKE's decision to move to Tasmania in 1853, after a brief sojourn in Melbourne.<sup>515</sup> This same connection assisted him again in moving on to Southland.

In Invercargill DRAKE preached his first sermon in January 1863 in a newly constructed store 'which was lent for the occasion' (quite possibly one of CS BUTTON's buildings from Tasmania<sup>516</sup>) and let it be known that he intended to settle.<sup>517</sup> In March 1864 he conducted the first marriage to be solemnised in his new Independent Chapel in Tay Street between two people from Tasmania,

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<sup>513</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 14 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>514</sup> One example from among many: 'We understand that you have very kind friends there [in Launceston] among others Mr Thomas Button [father of Henry and Charles Edward Button and uncle of Charles Stammers Button]. His son and friend has been staying with us three weeks'. Emma Brown to Eliza Drake, 3 October 1854, *Family Milestones* (ms).

<sup>515</sup> There is some discrepancy as to where the Drakes went first but their close association with the Buttons still stands. Henry Button stated that the Drakes arrived in Melbourne in September 1853 (corroborated by the birth of their daughter in Melbourne on 5 September 1853. *Family Milestones* (ms)) where 'it was his intention to engage in secular pursuits, but a suitable opening did not immediately present itself' (H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of Life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993), pp. 237-41). Whereas Drake's New Zealand obituary stated that he left England for Tasmania 'at the special request of his church' expressly to take charge of the River Forth Mission Station (Obituary. *Cromwell Argus*, 8 July 1890, p. 3).

<sup>516</sup> The first voyage of the *Mayflower* included '2 wooden houses' and CS Button lists 'a wooden store ready for erection' as part of the cargo on the second voyage to Southland. CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, pp. 75-76.

<sup>517</sup> *Southland Times*, 20 January 1863, p. 2.

Charles Rout (below) and Catherine Bastow.<sup>518</sup> The building was so new and unprepared that Charles Rout told the story that he himself 'had to sweep out the premises for the occasion'.<sup>519</sup> DRAKE is interesting among this group of early 1860s entrepreneurs as his motive for moving to Southland was not predominantly economic. Mrs DRAKE had 'private means' so they had some flexibility in their choices and their reasons for leaving Tasmania appear to have been so that DRAKE could establish his own congregation.<sup>520</sup>

This was by no means the extent of DRAKE and BUTTON's influence on the demographics of Southland. By travelling 'among friends' DRAKE can be said to have brought members of his Tasmanian congregation with him. Also on the *Mayflower's* first voyage was an additional person, the unnamed passenger in steerage. A process of elimination indicates that this person was most likely to have been Robert Wesley.<sup>521</sup> His biographical note in *Invercargill Pioneers* states that he went to Southland sometime before the arrival of his wife and six children who travelled on a later voyage of the *Mayflower* in August 1863.<sup>522</sup> He was said to have gone straight to the 'Queenstown diggings' before returning to Invercargill a short time later.<sup>523</sup> This fits neatly with the *Mayflower's* December

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<sup>518</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 7 April 1864, p. 4. Catherine Bastow was said to have arrived from Tasmania with Charles' sister, Sarah Ann Rout (FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 139). During the previous three years Miss Bastow had run a girls' school in Launceston (Advertisements. *Launceston Examiner*, 17 January 1861, p. 1; and, *Launceston Examiner*, 13 January 1863, p. 1).

<sup>519</sup> FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 139.

<sup>520</sup> Drake's final position in Tasmania had been as an interim minister at Cullenswood, a church privately endowed by Cullenwood's owner, Robert Vincent Legge. This was an Anglican congregation which did not want the High Church minister provided by the Bishop so they employed the Independent Drake until an Evangelical minister could be appointed. See letter to the editor by RV Legge, *Launceston Examiner*, 17 July 1862, p. 7. Also, Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 14 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. Regarding Mrs Drake's private means (A Don, *Memories of the Golden Road: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Central Otago*, (New Zealand, AH & AW Reed, 1923), p. 162).

<sup>521</sup> It is possible that Wesley was already nominally one of Button's workmen, accompanying the firm's goods and available to help erect the buildings as they were unloaded. For example, CS Button later stated that, 'Some workmen also came with the goods', in regard to the *Mayflower's* second voyage to Invercargill (CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, pp. 75-76). Examples of moving staff about in this way can also be found in Alexander Clerke's 'Mountford Day Book'.

<sup>522</sup> Sarah Ann Wesley had remained in Launceston to give birth to a daughter in April 1863. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Birth 1863 200/33.

<sup>523</sup> FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 125.

1862 arrival date.<sup>524</sup> Wesley then ‘secured employment as a caretaker’ in Invercargill at CS BUTTON’s new Provincial Brewery.<sup>525</sup> The Wesneys remained in Southland, along with Sarah Ann Wesley’s widowed father, John James. When Robert Wesley died in June 1912 at the age of 88 it was reported that, ‘in addition to the seven children of the marriage, there are now 51 grandchildren and 24 great-grandchildren’.<sup>526</sup>

Wesley and his family were part of a separate migrational phenomenon focussed on The Reverend DRAKE. This particular Tasmanian move into New Zealand clearly had its roots in England and illustrates how much further one can take the concept of interconnectedness. Shortly after his arrival in Tasmania in 1853, DRAKE had been employed by the Launceston Immigration Aid Society to make at least three voyages to England on their behalf. By all accounts he was a particularly successful immigration agent, aided by what today would be called a charismatic personality. His obituary praised this particular attribute stating that wherever he went DRAKE received a hearty welcome from ‘men of all creeds, who appeared to regard it as an honour to be able to do anything for him’.<sup>527</sup> Eliza ADAMS, Henry BUTTON and another Tasmanian chronicler, James Fenton, all saw fit to extol DRAKE in this regard.<sup>528</sup> Fenton described DRAKE’s recruitment strategy in England as ‘unique’. DRAKE based himself in and around his home county of Norfolk and used his own connections to the region as well as his personal knowledge of those who had emigrated before. He cleverly built on their histories and engaged his audience in a dialogue of mutual familiarity:

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<sup>524</sup> Shearers discovered gold on the banks of the Shotover River (WG Rees’ station) in November 1862 and a rush ensued. AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 3, p. 10.

<sup>525</sup> FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 125. Hall-Jones’ actual (mistaken) text states: ‘Wesney secured employment as caretaker at the “Black Eagle” Brewery, then C. E. Button’s and later J. T. Martin’s’. However CE Button was a lawyer. His cousin, CS Button, established the Provincial Brewery which was not sold to Martin until 1867. It was Martin’s brewery which was named the Black Eagle.

<sup>526</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 22 June 1912, p. 4.

<sup>527</sup> *Otago Witness*, 17 July 1890, p. 18.

<sup>528</sup> Fenton was a contemporary of Alexander Clerke. They were both involved in the early settlement of Tasmania’s North West Coast.

“You all remember old W-----, how he was half dead with asthma, and half starved from poverty?” ... “Why he owns a pig and a cow, has a small farm, and his health is as sound as a bell.”<sup>529</sup>

It is clear that DRAKE also understood the benefits of recruiting people who had social ties to each other through their residence in neighbouring parishes as well as through family. He also understood that children and siblings and widowed parents should be a part of the migrating family group, as all these facets would render ‘less burdensome than they would otherwise have been the first few months residence in a new country’.<sup>530</sup> Thus it is especially interesting that DRAKE is believed to have become the catalyst for a group of his English recruits to continue on to New Zealand’s South Island, though this would have been coupled with the added incentive that their working class status made them particularly vulnerable to the same depression that was also impelling middle-class Tasmanians to leave Tasmania. Sarah Ann Wesney’s brother and sister-in-law, Jacob and Lucy James, with their English and Tasmanian-born children, also followed their father and sister to Southland. Thomas Woolnough, an agricultural labourer from Suffolk, was a recruit from DRAKE’s first mission to England and by December 1863 he too was in Invercargill, when another of DRAKE’s Suffolk recruits, Edward Ruffels, married Bridget Cowen at Woolnough’s home there.<sup>531</sup>

How much DRAKE might have maintained direct contact with his recruits in Tasmania is not known, nor whether he ever deliberately sought to influence anyone else to move to Southland. The Wesneys *et al* all arrived in Invercargill so soon after The Reverend DRAKE that his role as a catalyst may only have been ephemeral. All the same, it cannot be denied that DRAKE was a great salesman. He certainly ‘sold’ Cromwell (his final destination in New Zealand) to

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<sup>529</sup> J Fenton, *Bushlife in Tasmania*, (London, 1891; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, n.d.), p. 131.

<sup>530</sup> K Green, ‘Recruitment of labourers from East Anglia by the Launceston Immigration Aid Society, 1854-1862’, (draft ms (courtesy of the author); Hobart, 2011), p. 8.

<sup>531</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1863/4537. The Ruffels subsequently returned to Tasmania and settled on the North West Coast, as did Thomas and Ellen Woolnough and their New Zealand-born son, Stephen Pickard Woolnough (the latter married Teresa Amelia Blythe at Westbury in 1899. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1899 1066/37).

his friend James Fenton. In his reminiscences of *Bush Life in Tasmania*, Fenton stated with authority that Cromwell was 'one of the most healthful places under the Southern Cross', with 'mountain torrents dancing down the valleys on either side'.<sup>532</sup> Fenton never visited New Zealand himself, and this description was certain to have come from his correspondence with DRAKE.<sup>533</sup>

The year 1863 saw Mrs Wesley and Mrs DRAKE and their respective children reunited with their husbands in Invercargill.<sup>534</sup> It also saw the arrival of Charles Stammers BUTTON's wife, Mary. She crossed the Tasman with her youngest sister, Sarah Rout of Auckland.<sup>535</sup> Sarah had accompanied Mary back to Launceston the previous year.<sup>536</sup>

The cousinly associations of Mary BUTTON (née Rout) also meant that the BUTTONs and DRAKEs enjoyed useful connections to members of the extended Rout family which, during the nineteenth century, moved regularly between Tasmania, Victoria and both islands of New Zealand.<sup>537</sup> There was a plethora of Williams and Basils in this family who, along with a Charles, a Henry, and a James, all spent some time doing business in either Invercargill or Dunedin.<sup>538</sup> The first Basil and William Rout in this part of the world established an ironmongery business in Hobart in 1824 which extended into ship owning and trading. William remained in Hobart and Basil's permanent base became Colac in Victoria.<sup>539</sup> In 1863 two of Basil's sons, William John and Charles Rout, arrived in Invercargill. These brothers had been apprentices in the Hobart firm

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<sup>532</sup> J Fenton, *Bushlife in Tasmania*, (London, 1891; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, n.d.), p. 131. In 1869 Drake did the same for Tasmania, giving a lecture on that subject which raised £14 for the Cromwell church fund (RM Paterson, *100 Years: The Centennial of the Establishment of the Parish of St John, Presbyterian Church of N.Z., Cromwell-Lowburn-Bannockburn*, (Cromwell, self-published, 1975), p. 4.

<sup>533</sup> Personal communication, Margaret Tassell (née Fenton), family history researcher.

<sup>534</sup> Eliza Drake and the children did not arrive in Invercargill until mid-1863, on board the soon-to-be wrecked *Creole*. A June 1863 diary entry expressed Drake's anxiety: 'I am anxiously looking for my dear wife. I have no tidings of her for certain only that she is coming by the *Creole*'. Benjamin Drake, 18 [19?] June 1863, *Family Milestones* (ms).

<sup>535</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 30 April 1863, p. 4. Also, *Southland Times*, 15 May 1863, p. 2.

<sup>536</sup> CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, p. 74.

<sup>537</sup> Mary Button was from the Auckland branch of the family, which included the names John and James Rout.

<sup>538</sup> See, 'Otago Nominal Index, University of Otago'. <http://marvin.otago.ac.nz>

<sup>539</sup> Basil Rout senior died at Colac aged 74, 'formerly of Hobart Town'. Death notice. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 26 November 1877, p. 2.

and followed the same calling in Invercargill, supplying 'machinery and tools to the border goldfields and in the fever of the gold boom were kept busy day and night'.<sup>540</sup> Their sister Ann Sarah Rout who, in 1864, had accompanied Charles' bride across the Tasman, married the Scottish-born Duncan Robert Yule in Invercargill in 1865.<sup>541</sup> This marriage cemented a connection which later led to the business partnership of her husband and her brother Charles as drapers and clothiers.<sup>542</sup>

Also disembarking at Invercargill in 1863 was another cousin, Charles Edward BUTTON.<sup>543</sup> It was possibly the knowledge that CS BUTTON was already in Invercargill that aided Charles Edward in his decision to go there. He had qualified as a lawyer in August 1861.<sup>544</sup> His premature attempt to establish a partnership in Launceston had ended in insolvency in June the following year.<sup>545</sup> In November 1862, while the *Mayflower* was *en route* to New Zealand, Charles Edward married Louisa COWELL, a friend of Eliza ADAMS. Louisa's parents were then living at Cullenswood House and thus this couple narrowly missed the opportunity to have been married there by The Reverend Benjamin DRAKE.

These interconnections did not stop at Invercargill as several people from this extended family later considered investing their time and energy in the new goldfields on New Zealand's West Coast. In this they were following a general exodus that, by all accounts, left Invercargill stagnant by the end of the 1860s.<sup>546</sup> Charles Rout and his sister, Sarah Yule, were an exception and remained in Invercargill for the rest of their lives.<sup>547</sup> Their brother, William John, travelled to the West Coast to explore the possibility of extending their business

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<sup>540</sup> FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 139.

<sup>541</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1865/9460.

<sup>542</sup> The partnership lasted from 1876-1880. *Southland Times*, 4 March 1876, p. 3, and 25 June 1880, p. 1.

<sup>543</sup> Known as Edward within the Launceston family, but as Charles Edward in New Zealand. The similarity of his name with that of his older cousin, Charles Stammers Button, has caused an understandable confusion amongst local historians.

<sup>544</sup> *Walch's Tasmanian Almanac and Guide to Tasmania for 1864*, p. 59.

<sup>545</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 26 July 1862, p. 2.

<sup>546</sup> The population in the south halved in the rush to the West Coast. P Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 81.

<sup>547</sup> Obituary. *Southland Times*, 13 October 1905, p. 2.

there.<sup>548</sup> It was not to be and he returned to Tasmania and established ironmongery businesses at Launceston and Latrobe.<sup>549</sup> Rout also married in March 1875.<sup>550</sup> This move proved temporary and William John Rout and his family eventually resettled in New Zealand.<sup>551</sup>

During the same period as William Rout (that is, between November 1865 and December 1866) Charles Stammers BUTTON also visited the West Coast 'on business'. He also decided not to stay and returned to Invercargill. Finally he was required back in Launceston after a fire destroyed the company's premises and he returned home in October 1867.<sup>552</sup> Interestingly the Invercargill auctioneer who sold up CS BUTTON's 'Valuable Household Furniture' was William Todd,<sup>553</sup> another with Tasmanian associations who also resettled in Hokitika.<sup>554</sup> In the late 1860s Charles Edward and Louisa BUTTON also moved to the West Coast and they remained at Hokitika for the next fifteen years. The gold rushes were kind to CE BUTTON, allowing him to claim in his *Cyclopedia* puff piece of 1902 that on the West Coast he had been 'looked up to as the "best authority on mining law in the Colony"'.<sup>555</sup>

Despite the return of Charles Stammers BUTTON and William John Rout to Launceston, Charles Edward and Louisa BUTTON would not have been bereft of other middle-class Tasmanian connections. By 1873 Charles Edward's sister,

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<sup>548</sup> FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 139.

<sup>549</sup> *Launceston Family Album*, (1891-1892). [www.launcestonfamilyalbum.org.au](http://www.launcestonfamilyalbum.org.au)

<sup>550</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1875 252/37. William John Rout married Katherine Frances McKay.

<sup>551</sup> Parts of the history of this family can be found in biographies of his daughter, the Launceston-born Ettie Rout, who was well-known (even notorious) in New Zealand for her World War 1 work in Europe. She issued New Zealand soldiers with prophylactic kits in an attempt to stop the spread of venereal disease. J Tolerton, 'Rout, Ettie Annie 1877-1936', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz) William John Rout died in New Zealand in 1932 at the age of 89 (New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1932/7700).

<sup>552</sup> Button's expertise would have been required to re-establish the firm's brewing interest. CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, pp. 75-76 (note the page number 75 has been used twice). This fire was extensive (*Launceston Examiner*, 9 July 1866, p.3).

<sup>553</sup> *Southland Times*, 9 September 1867, p. 2. Todd was a brother-in-law of George Stanton Crouch of Hobart and Invercargill.

<sup>554</sup> Todd and the other ex-Invercargill Tasmanians assist in corroborating May's assertion that the greater part of the West Coast gold rush population came from Australia, 'either directly or by way of Otago'. PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), p. 269.

<sup>555</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Auckland Provincial District*, (Wellington, Cyclopedia Company Ltd., 1902), v. 2, p. 111. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

Anna Susan BUTTON, had also joined them in Hokitika, possibly to assist with her brother's young children. There she met her husband a Scottish-born gold miner, Robert Muirhead Crawford, and raised a family of her own in New Zealand.<sup>556</sup> On the West Coast during the late 1860s and 1870s the BUTTONS would have come into contact with other Tasmanians from this research group: John Henry KERR, manager of the Union Bank at Hokitika, along with his sisters and his brother, William Dowling KERR, manager of the Bank of New South Wales; John Melford Perkins of Hobart, bank employee; Charles Munro CROCKER, builder; and the mining surveyor sons of The Reverend Charles Dobson of Buckland.<sup>557</sup> There were also other Tasmanian lawyers: William Watchorn Perkins and his siblings, including his brother Ernest Waddell Perkins who was his articled clerk; and the brothers William, Harry, and Albert PITT who practised law from Reefton to Blenheim.<sup>558</sup> Caleb WHITEFOORD, warden and resident magistrate, like the BUTTONS, came from a well-known Launceston family. He was related to the Perkins family through the marriage of his wife's sister, Edith Willis, as well as to William PITT's wife through his Elliston mother.<sup>559</sup> Even the Invercargill Quaker, George Stanton Crouch, passed through Hokitika on his way to Hobart in 1871 where he stayed with the auctioneer William Todd (above).<sup>560</sup>

In the 1880s Charles Edward and Louisa BUTTON finally settled in Auckland where his legal career culminated in his elevation to the bench.<sup>561</sup> Given the length and breadth of his legal career and his political activities BUTTON was inevitably involved in many cases featuring his fellow Tasmanians. For example, he was an Appeal Court judge in the case of Annie Townend, the daughter of George Moore (cousin and partner of the Tasmanian wool baron Robert Quayle

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<sup>556</sup> 'Pioneer Family Register for the West Coast to 1900' (handwritten sheet), West Coast Historical Museum, Hokitika.

<sup>557</sup> John Howard Dobson and Charles Maclaine Dobson in PC Sims, *The Butler Sisters: the life and times of Maclaine, Lapham & Radcliff families of Scotland, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 3, (Launceston, self-published, 2010), p. 29.

<sup>558</sup> William Pitt drowned while on his way to a Supreme Court sitting in Hokitika. *West Coast Times*, 31 March 1879, p. 2.

<sup>559</sup> Edith Willis married Clement Winter, a brother-in-law of WW Perkins. Marriage notice. *Grey River Argus*, 26 January 1871, p. 2. See also, JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925, p. 7.

<sup>560</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), pp. 29-30.

<sup>561</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 29 December 1920, p. 3.



Kermode) and inheritor of the richest estate in the South Island.<sup>562</sup> The court ruled for Annie Townend when the New Zealand government attempted to claim £30,000 from her in death duties after the demise of her father.<sup>563</sup>

The BUTTON and ROUT connections did not end there. In the next generation, Charles Stammers BUTTON's widower son, Edmund (Invercargill-born and Launceston-raised), took his mother on a trip home to New Zealand to see her family. There he met another cousin, Bertha Rout, who he subsequently married at Onehunga in 1899.<sup>564</sup>

Henry BUTTON, the Launceston chronicler, provided one additional BUTTON connection which links his family to the CLAYTONs (chapter 2). The wives of Henry BUTTON and Richard CLAYTON were sisters.<sup>565</sup> BUTTON reported angrily on the fatal overloading of the *Creole* by Richard's father, Henry CLAYTON, and the subsequent loss of lives in August 1863.<sup>566</sup> Yet a further link between Tasmania and New Zealand, in the ongoing tragedy suffered by both the CLAYTONs and the other families in both colonies who were related to passengers on board the *Creole*.<sup>567</sup>

The BUTTON and DRAKE experience indicates that on an individual level much can be extrapolated from the concept of 'among friends'. All of these

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<sup>562</sup> J McAloon, 'Family, wealth and inheritance in a settler society: the South Island of New Zealand c. 1865-c. 1930', *Journal of Historical Geography*, v. 25, no. 2, April 1999, p. 211.

<sup>563</sup> *Star*, 20 December 1907, p. 3.

<sup>564</sup> *Launceston Family Album*, (1891-1892). [www.launcestonfamilyalbum.org.au](http://www.launcestonfamilyalbum.org.au)

<sup>565</sup> Henry Button married Emma Glover in August 1852 (*Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1852 1223/37), and Richard Clayton married Jane Elizabeth Glover in January 1855 (*Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1855 1036/37).

<sup>566</sup> H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of Life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993), pp. 199-200.

<sup>567</sup> Passengers on the *Creole*: Miss Bain; Henry and James Clayton (the latter blind); Mrs. Green; James Dean aged 32. His reason for travelling to New Zealand was probably entrepreneurial and he had brothers who had already moved from Tasmania to Victoria. He is connected to this research group because the name Dean is included in the 'Mountford Day Book' and his sister married Robert Dowling (*Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1849 2122/37). In 1892 one of his half-brothers, William Matthew Dean, was working for the New Zealand Electric Telegraph Department (Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 5 April 1892, p. 2); Mrs John Rattray and four children who was on her way to join her husband, a Launceston grocer become gold miner (Obituary. *Examiner*, 22 September 1905, p. 4); Mr and Mrs FE Townley and child travelling to Dunedin to join Mr Townley's brother (personal communication, Marion Dowsett, family history researcher). Note that the initials were given as 'FAC Townley' by the *Launceston Examiner*, 26 September 1863, p.4; and William Weymouth a Launceston police clerk. ('Hard times strike struggling family', *Examiner*, 18 February 2006, p. 33).

people knew that they would find themselves among Tasmanians when they went to Southland, whether or not they intentionally followed their friends there. The everyday reality of these middle-class Tasmanians taking ship together, especially in those cases where they were perhaps provided with a free berth (a very real possibility for someone like The Reverend DRAKE and a must for the working men shipped over by BUTTON) would also have allowed more Tasmanians to travel to New Zealand at this time than might otherwise have gone there. The BUTTONs also impacted on Eliza ADAMS' travel plans as she had hoped to cross the Tasman in January 1865 with Louisa BUTTON (*née* COWELL) after one of Louisa's visits home. Eliza had to change her plans when she was left without a chaperone: 'Mr. Button has come over and is going back with Louisa in a week, so all my hope of going with her is dashed to the ground'.<sup>568</sup>

It is expected that people would have travelled together during a gold rush. The *Gabriel's Gully Jubilee* publication is full of testimonies from Australian diggers who crossed the Tasman 'in a party', or of their being invited to 'join a party' once they arrived on a goldfield and met up with someone who could vouch for them.<sup>569</sup> For middle-class Tasmanians however this process had become the norm before the 1860s. An entrepreneur like Alexander CLERKE had been able to provide passage for Henry ADAMS, among others, on the ships he chartered. Also on board with ADAMS in September 1860 were Solomon and Catherine Shepherd and their children, and three people in steerage.<sup>570</sup> Only weeks before, Alexander CLERKE had found Catherine 'in a very undecided state about going to New Zealand'.<sup>571</sup> This was possibly partly due to the fact that at the age of 43 she was taking eight children to Southland, the youngest a

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<sup>568</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 3 December [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>569</sup> *Gabriel's Gully Jubilee: Reminiscences of the Early Gold Mining Days contributed by A Large Number of Pioneers*, (Dunedin, *Otago Daily Times & Witness*, 1911). This newspaper booklet was produced in response to the fifty years anniversary of the rush to Gabriel's Gully.

<sup>570</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 2 October 1860, p. 2. With no Clerke descendants still living in Invercargill, local chroniclers erroneously believed that the Shepherds themselves chartered the *Northern Light* (FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 98).

<sup>571</sup> Entry for 24 July 1860. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG.

babe in arms.<sup>572</sup> She was to survive her apprehensions, reaching 85 years of age before she died at Invercargill in January 1902.<sup>573</sup> The Shepherd family farm, Sylvan Banks, came to be recognised as 'the earliest selection in the district'<sup>574</sup> and their children subsequently appeared in the Southland papers as farmers, timber contractors and carters.

The *Northern Light*'s second sailing included the family of George Hickman who had worked at Mountford as one of Alexander CLERKE's carpenters.<sup>575</sup> These families and the single men in steerage, one of whom is identifiable as Richard Casey who had worked at Mountford since 1854, were in all probability further cases of CLERKE assisting others to help himself.<sup>576</sup> After all, the only relevant Southland article in Hobart's *Mercury* for 1860 had reported a dearth of working men in Invercargill.<sup>577</sup> CLERKE needed men to tend his livestock and erect his buildings as well as to assist in the development of his land. While these *quasi* 'assisted passages' might have been necessary to allow working men to cross the Tasman, they were not quite the same as the 'patronage' extended to one's social equals among the Tasmanian gentry and middle class.

### Necessary connections?

How necessary other types of interconnectedness might have been for the middle-class Tasmanians who travelled to New Zealand, is a vexed question. That is, those connections based on patronage and sponsorship rather than connections of family and friendship. The vexed question is whether such assistance can ever be truly known or quantified given that it was often not formally acknowledged even in those earlier times when it was an accepted

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<sup>572</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*. The youngest child to leave Tasmania, Stephen Solomon Shepherd, was only two when his mother carried him on board (*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Otago and Southland Provincial Districts, (Wellington, Cyclopedica Company Ltd., 1905), v. 4, p. 901. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)).

<sup>573</sup> *Southland Times*, 29 January 1902, p. 2.

<sup>574</sup> *Southland Times*, 14 November 1902, p. 4.

<sup>575</sup> Entry for 3 January 1861. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG. Note that the Hickman family have thus far proved elusive in New Zealand. They may have left Invercargill by the mid-1860s as a Mrs Hickman from the poorer end of Dunedin gave evidence in a murder trial in 1865 (*Otago Witness*, 17 June 1865, p. 5), and a fifty year old George Hickman died in New Zealand during 1869 (New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1869/2790).

<sup>576</sup> Entry for 27 July 1860. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG.

<sup>577</sup> *Mercury*, 19 November 1860, p. 2.

part of colonial life. Four aspects of patronage or sponsorship can be reviewed in relation to this group of individuals: colonial patronage of the old school, sponsorship in the first phase of young men who went to work on the pastoral estates of the South Island, the mutual assistance between professional men, and the supported movement of individuals through their employment by transnational companies.

Colonial patronage of the old school is amply explored by recent publications such as Laidlaw's *Colonial Connections, 1815-45*. Laidlaw concentrates her arguments on the Cape Colony and New South Wales but does include occasional references to early Van Diemen's Land.<sup>578</sup> Her use of the term 'connections' equates to political networking, a system of alliances and power brokering as opposed to the more family and friendship based interconnectedness which is the focus of this study.<sup>579</sup> The CLERKE and ADAMS families had both benefited from the system prevailing in early Van Diemen's Land. Their land grants were bestowed through a system that included a strong element of patronage and which extended beyond the mere assets which the grantees were expected to have brought with them.<sup>580</sup> This system did not disappear with the advent of responsible government and the renaming of Tasmania in the 1850s. It would only be challenged when the taint of nepotism was too strong to ignore, such as the example provided by Reynolds from the 1880s when the appointment of one Tasmanian council clerk was queried because 'his father, father-in-law and two uncles ... held the majority of votes on the seven member council'.<sup>581</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> For example by including the activities of Sir John Franklin and the Colonial Secretary, John Montagu. Z Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: patronage, the information revolution and colonial government*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 33.

<sup>579</sup> Z Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: patronage, the information revolution and colonial government*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 13. Laidlaw's 'connections' meant that it was vital for appointees to colonial government positions to maintain alliances at Home. They might easily find their access to promotion in Van Diemen's Land thwarted by an applicant with more influential connections in London' (J Fox, 'John Lewes Pedder (1793-1859): Some New Perspectives on a Colonial Judge', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 59, no. 3, December 2012, p. 165).

<sup>580</sup> S Breen, 'Class' in A Alexander (ed.), *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, (Hobart, University of Tasmania/Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, 2005), p. 408.

<sup>581</sup> 'Select Committee on Centralization of the Police', *Journal and Papers of Parliament*, 1886, cited in H Reynolds, '"Men of Substance and Deservedly Good Repute": The Tasmanian Gentry 1856-1875', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, v. 15, no. 3, 1969, p. 68.

Given that such a system had been the norm throughout Tasmania's colonial past it is surprising that there is only one probable case of old style patronage among these 86 individuals who went to New Zealand. The person who enjoyed this luxury was George Coleridge Nixon the husband of Eliza ADAMS' Longford acquaintance, Adela WALKER.<sup>582</sup> George was the Hobart-born son of the first Anglican Bishop of Tasmania, The Right Reverend Dr Francis Russell Nixon. George had received some formal education at the Hutchins School though it appeared to suffice to their parents that he and his brothers were brought up as gentlemen, and how they were to earn a living in the future was not at issue.<sup>583</sup> Like his father George Nixon had a talent for watercolours and this was his only known accomplishment, apart from his becoming a protégé of Robert Tooth.<sup>584</sup> His friend Derwent Fortescue Forster (later to be related through marriage) explained how this patronage worked:

My mother got her son-in-law, Robert Tooth, of the Kent Brewery, Sydney, and the part owner of many station properties in Queensland and New South Wales, to interest himself for me.<sup>585</sup>

George Coleridge Nixon and his older brother, Forster Fitzherbert, were also beneficiaries of Robert Tooth's 'interest' and both went to New Zealand in this capacity. Whether George also accompanied his parents to the Continent during the 1860s is not yet determined.<sup>586</sup> He was in New Zealand by the 1870s if not earlier, when he was stated to have provided a valuation on his brother's property there.<sup>587</sup> Quite what George Nixon did in New Zealand and how he

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<sup>582</sup> Interestingly, GC Nixon's second name honoured the Reverend Edward Coleridge of Eton, a friend of his father. Coleridge was in a position to bestow patronage in his own right. Z Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: patronage, the information revolution and colonial government*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 115. Coleridge was also able, through similar family friendships, to extend assistance to Eliza Adams' future husband, Charles Plummer Powles, before he left for New Zealand (personal communication, Maureen Powles, family history researcher).

<sup>583</sup> Personal communications, Hutchins School Archivist, and Robyn Lake, Nixon researcher.

<sup>584</sup> GT Stilwell, 'George Coleridge Nixon b. 1844 Hobart Town, Tasmania', *Dictionary of Australian Artists*. [www.daaao.org.au/bio](http://www.daaao.org.au/bio) For Tooth see, GP Walsh, 'Tooth, Robert (1821-1893)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.anu.edu.au)

<sup>585</sup> BG Forster, *The Family and Descendants of Commander George Brooks Forster, R. N., 1792-1874*, (Canberra, [self-published], 1986), p. 39.

<sup>586</sup> GC Nixon produced a series of European scenes, though these may have been copies of works produced by his father. Personal communication, Robyn Lake, Nixon researcher.

<sup>587</sup> Insolvency of FF Nixon. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 March 1878, p. 5.

benefited from Tooth's patronage is not clear, because in July 1874 he was appointed postmaster at Ashburton Forks in Canterbury, a move which supposes a level of indigency on his part.<sup>588</sup> Two years later Fanny Sweetnam DOUGLAS wrote to her sister from Dunedin, 'I hear Adela Nixon and her husband have gone to Queensland. Their taste for gaiety did not suit George Nixon's employer here'.<sup>589</sup> In the early 1870s there had been several mentions of him acting as a steward at turf events, such as the Ashburton Races of 1871, though this activity may have been part of some employment related to Tooth's equine holdings rather than mere 'gaiety'.<sup>590</sup> By February 1877 George and Adela Nixon were no longer in New Zealand. They were based in Sydney with Adela's relations, domiciled in a cottage 'as snug & comfortable as can be'.<sup>591</sup> George Nixon was still in Sydney when he died in 1885.<sup>592</sup> For such a career, or the lack of one, the selection of New Zealand as a destination would have been almost incidental. In a career based almost entirely on the goodwill of 'friends', the Nixons would have gone anywhere that assured them of a living.

George Nixon has been designated as the only recipient of direct patronage because no evidence has yet been located to indicate that he undertook any specific job within Robert Tooth's domain. Except for his short and uncharacteristic stint as a postmaster, Nixon was invariably always a 'gentleman'. His move to New Zealand was also later than that of the young men of the first phase who left Tasmania to work on the South Island's pastoral estates in the late 1850s and early 1860s. They had specific tasks to perform, like Thomas GROOM's first job, at Matakanui Station in 1863:

My duty was to mind the riding horses on the station, and get them in every morning. I got 25/- a week for this; everything was very rough. There were no fences or any conveniences. My bed was (a) sheet of corrugated iron, on sods of earth to keep it off the ground. Besides attending to the horses, I helped my cousin do the butchering. There

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<sup>588</sup> *Star*, 25 July 1874, p. 2.

<sup>589</sup> Fanny Douglas to Kate Weston, 25 October 1876, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/25.

<sup>590</sup> *Press*, 10 March 1871, p. 4.

<sup>591</sup> Annie Walker to Kate Weston, 25 February 1877, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/25.

<sup>592</sup> GT Stilwell, 'George Coleridge Nixon b. 1844 Hobart Town, Tasmania', *Dictionary of Australian Artists*. [www.daaao.org.au/bio](http://www.daaao.org.au/bio)

was a good deal of this to do, as there were a great many diggers on the run who had to be supplied with meat.<sup>593</sup>

From these small beginnings such men often graduated to the role of 'station manager'. It is clear that many Tasmanians from farming backgrounds who travelled to New Zealand under the auspices of wealthy landowners such as Robert Quayle Kermode and his partner and cousin George Moore were beneficiaries in terms of receiving a positive start in a new place. As younger sons, with little or no access to land of their own in Tasmania, they not only had farming experience but all had family and friendship connections to runholders like Kermode.<sup>594</sup> Francis PITT, for example, was related to Kermode through his mother. Thomas Tayspill Dowling received his *bona fides* through working with his older brothers on land owned by their relations, the Clarks of Ellinthorpe Hall, who farmed within visiting range of Kermode's Tasmanian property, Mona Vale. The fact that these young men possessed skills useful to Kermode and Moore does not preclude their employment from being classed as a form of 'patronage'. They were selected, their fares arranged and, once they had proven themselves, their services were rewarded with responsible posts as station managers. It was a win-win situation for all the parties involved. Ironically, although these men were middle-class gentlemen by birth, this form of mutual benefit assistance is little different to the assistance offered to working class Tasman-crossers like Robert Wesney and the family of George Hickman (above).

Not all of those generally included amongst the Tasmanian 'gentry' who leased pastoral estates in New Zealand, were able to offer such direct sponsorship to their friends. For many, their New Zealand investments were maintained and managed by their own family members, names such as: Lyttleton, Gellibrand

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<sup>593</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920. Note that feeding diggers was a common occurrence in the early 1860s. 'The diary of Puketoi station [Tom Groom passed by this property on his way to Matakanui] tells us of servants slaughtering sheep and cattle to feed the multitude'. S Eldred-Grigg, *A Southern Gentry: New Zealanders Who Inherited the Earth*, (Christchurch, Reed, 1981), p. 38.

<sup>594</sup> George Henry Moore was himself a beneficiary of sponsorship, brought out to Van Diemen's Land from the Isle of Man by his Kermode cousins to be trained in colonial agriculture and to work as their farm manager at Mona Vale. N Chick, *The Archers of Van Diemens Land*, (Hobart, Pedigree Press, 1991), p. 183.

and SMITH, WALKER, Parramore, Oakden, Nichols, and Captain Wood of Snake Banks who sent his sons, William and Mabile, 'to New Zealand with 1600 pounds to try and purchase land for themselves'.<sup>595</sup> This was a situation well-known to station managers such as Thomas GROOM, Thomas Tayspill Dowling and others who at various times lost their positions through no fault of their own once 'the destined holder of the post I had for a time filled had arrived'.<sup>596</sup>

In Tasmania by the 1860s a more indirect form of patronage was the norm, the mutual assistance between professional men. A parent such as The Reverend William Henry BROWNE for example, would have been remiss had he not sought to place his sons with business colleagues as soon as they had completed their formal education at the Launceston Church Grammar School. Robert Montague (Monty) BROWNE went into banking.<sup>597</sup> His father was one of the founders of the Launceston Bank for Savings in 1835.<sup>598</sup> Such assistance as this, provided through the offices of a responsible parent and the goodwill of his friends, worked for these young men because they themselves were not without the skills required by their employers. They had received a good education and doubtless their parents chose to place them in positions for which they already had a perceived aptitude. This assistance took place while these young men were still at home in Tasmania and does not appear to have influenced their New Zealand sojourns. Another son, Tilly BROWNE, went into engineering. In New Zealand in 1879, he was able, in his turn, to offer a job to his old school friend Alick CLERKE when the latter lost his position in Adelaide:

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<sup>595</sup> Throwing good money after bad, as they had already wasted his funds in Victoria. Captain William Wood to Reverend Donald Owen, 20 August 1858 (transcription of letter). Personal communication, Andrew Groom, family history researcher.

<sup>596</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69, by "A. Tasmanian"*, (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 50. Thomas Groom described this happening to him on at least four occasions (TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920).

<sup>597</sup> Not to be confused with another New Zealand Monty Browne, the theatrical impresario and son of the journalist James Browne. The father, James 'Snyder' Browne, boasted his own Van Diemonian career during the early 1840s. Obituary. *Evening Post*, 6 November 1885, p. 2.

<sup>598</sup> S Petrow, 'A bank that works for the people', *Examiner*, 11 November 2006, p. 32.



'Tilly Brown [*sic*] said 2 months ago he could offer him 300 a year in N Zealand'.<sup>599</sup>

The final example of sponsorship was that offered by transnational companies. Arnold asserted that between Australia and New Zealand there were many occupations with in-built networks which facilitated cross-Tasman movement (and thereby provided 'friends' of a sort). This movement included bankers and ministers of the Church, and could also include newspaper promoters and journalists, doctors, engineers, and educators.<sup>600</sup> Arnold's observations relate specifically to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and have no particular resonance for mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians. Amongst the acquaintance of Eliza ADAMS there were only two possible examples of company-driven movement between Tasmania and New Zealand and that was *via* a banking career. From the dates given in the obituary of John Henry KERR, it is probable that he had joined the Union Bank in the late 1850s before he went to New Zealand where he was based for a time 'at the celebrated Gabriel's Gully rush in Otago in the early sixties'.<sup>601</sup> Kate WESTON's sister-in-law, Fanny Jane Morrah and her husband Edward, were another banking family who moved more than once between Victoria and New Zealand. However on the whole, Tasmanian professional men of the mid-nineteenth century were not sent to New Zealand by their employers. Of the professional men that make up the group of Tasman-crossers referred to in Eliza ADAMS' letters, five were lawyers, four were surveyors and one was an engineer, four were bankers and two were insurance agents, two were doctors, and there were also among that number a single architect, a clergyman, and a newspaperman. Other than John Henry KERR and Edward Morrah all of these men travelled to New Zealand as free agents and not as part of some large company, as was more likely to have been the case towards the turn of the twentieth century.

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<sup>599</sup> The offer was not taken up. Lucy Clerke to Kate Weston, 8 March 1879, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/31. Tilly Browne did not stay in New Zealand and by 1889 was 'a civil engineer in America' (Obituary. *Mercury*, 22 July 1889, p. 3).

<sup>600</sup> R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler), *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983), p. 73.

<sup>601</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 5 June 1901, p. 5. Kerr was not actually the first Union Bank employee at the diggings; Robert Harold was believed to have been the first (*Tuapeka Times*, 29 July 1893, p. 3).

Arnold's statement that most Australians travelling to New Zealand went there to be, or found themselves, 'among friends and kin' proves equally true for the middle-class Tasmanians who crossed the Tasman during the mid-nineteenth century. Whether they were the earlier station managers or the later lawyers and surveyors, their professional status and the lack of career opportunities in Tasmania, the relatively short sea voyage and the feeling of being poised on the brink of a new opportunity, would have helped these Tasmanians to continue their fellow feeling for each other after their arrival in New Zealand. Positive 'among friends' sentiments, like those of Eliza ADAMS, were reiterated by her fellow islanders in their own testimonies. As well as the newspaper contributor 'A. Tasmanian', George Stanton Crouch also referred to his enjoyment in meeting with fellow Tasmanians during his eight years in Invercargill (as well as during his later return visits) and mentioned ten by name.<sup>602</sup> Similarly Thomas GROOM named nine known Tasmanian families in his much shorter reminiscence of New Zealand station life where, after days in the saddle, a familiar face at the next property was still significant enough to record fifty years after the event.<sup>603</sup>

The only person who has left no hint of any association with another party in New Zealand is Dr Cornelius Gavin CASEY. He clearly stated his reasons for deciding to relocate to Dunedin in 1863 as 'only from a sense of duty – a sense of what I owe to my family – believing that I shall open to them prospects which Tasmania does not at present afford'.<sup>604</sup> His reasons for leaving Dunedin barely three weeks later were just as clearly reported, as being 'utterly disappointed and disgusted with the place'.<sup>605</sup> His grandson's biography glosses over this period with the remark that perhaps 'the rough and ready habits and manners of a new gold rush [were not] to his taste'.<sup>606</sup> With no reference to an

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<sup>602</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912).

<sup>603</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>604</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 3 December 1863, p. 5. Casey's grandson attributed the sudden move away from Launceston to the death of Mrs Casey, the disruption to Tasmanian life caused by the Victorian gold rushes of the 1850s and Tasmania's economic depression (Lord Casey, *Australian Father and Son*, (London, Collins, 1967), p. 55).

<sup>605</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 23 January 1864, p. 6.

<sup>606</sup> Lord Casey, *Australian Father and Son*, (London, Collins, 1967), p. 54.

intermediary of any sort and no understanding of what might have transpired in Dunedin during his fortnight there, Dr CASEY remains the sole example of a middle-class Tasmanian who went to New Zealand and did not find himself 'among friends'.<sup>607</sup>

As figure 7 above amply illustrates, the interconnections between these middle-class Tasmanians were multifarious and fundamentally impossible to fully unravel. They were based on family and friends, but also relied on a much wider network of association. Much information is now available from family history-related archival sources to demonstrate that business and church affiliations *et al*, all had an immeasurable impact on the daily interactions of these Tasmanians and that such associations were carried over into New Zealand. Oftentimes these connections were cemented anew in New Zealand, to such an extent that 'among friends' can also be extended into 'among the familiar' in more ways than one, a theme which sits easily with chapter 5 and the realities of 'the dynamics of the invisible'.

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<sup>607</sup> Dr Casey went to Victoria where he established himself in practice.



**Figure 8:** While spatial interconnectedness is not explored beyond a South Island congregation, the concept is amply demonstrated by this scene of post-1906 Wellington. The left arrow indicates the Old Government Buildings created by the Tasmanian WH CLAYTON and the right arrow indicates the long-term home of Eliza POWLES (*née* ADAMS) at 34 Wesley Road. The house of Dr BOORS, where Eliza met her future husband, was located between these two sites, and CLAYTON himself resided in Hobson Street in the area immediately to the left of this image. Abutting Hobson Street is Fitzherbert Terrace, the home and school of Mary Ann SWAINSON, where her Tasmanian sister Sophia WIGAN visited in the 1870s, and whence Eliza POWLES and Fanny Morrah (*née* WESTON) sent their daughters to be educated. Across the road from CLAYTON's masterpiece is New Zealand's Parliament House, particularly familiar to his family through his son-in-law the Prime Minister, later Sir Julius Vogel. The surveyor, Eugene BELLAIRS, brother of Eliza ADAMS' Longford school teacher, worked in CLAYTON's Government Buildings shortly after they opened. Several people from this research group also worshipped at Old St Paul's, the parish church of Eliza POWLES, also immediately to the left of this photograph. After his retirement Frederick Bisdee CHALMERS from Bagdad, Tasmania, also lived within a stone's throw, up on The Terrace. As with the personal and business associations illustrated by figure 7, any further extension of such geographic interconnectedness would also result in a representational quagmire. (2003.4800.202, Wellington Museums)

## CHAPTER 5

### The Dynamics of the Invisible

When Arnold titled his paper the 'Dynamics of the Invisible' it was in reaction to 'the paucity and poor quality of [the data available] for the Australian influx' into New Zealand during the early twentieth century. He did not explain what he meant by 'invisibility' beyond the lack of research sources.<sup>608</sup> Arnold outlined his sources for both places as the census, births deaths and marriages and shipping lists, along with obituaries and *Cyclopedia* entries.<sup>609</sup> The benefits and drawbacks of family history internet sites, genealogical society indexes, and *Trove* and *Papers Past* in particular, were not available to Arnold at the time he was researching between the late 1960s and into the 1980s. For Arnold 'invisible' equated with 'hidden'. Today the personal narrative of letters, diaries, reminiscences, obituaries and *Cyclopedia* entries still provide primary qualitative data for the social history of people movement, and the new electronic media has not yet solved all the problems which exist for historians seeking definitive quantitative data. In this sense Tasmanians moving to New Zealand during the early and mid-nineteenth century can still remain 'invisible' or 'hidden', as rarely can they be separated statistically from Australians as a whole.

For middle-class Tasman-crossers, remaining 'hidden' would not have been intentional unlike the deliberate obfuscation of one's past attributed to ex-convicts. One Tasmanian who currently does remain 'invisible' according to Arnold's definition is Mr SADLER. His sister was Maria SADLER a particularly pious governess previously employed by the CLERKE family.<sup>610</sup> Maria was living and working in Melbourne by the time she wrote that, 'My brother in New

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<sup>608</sup> R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler) *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983), pp. 70-72. That is, 'what survives of carelessly scrawled lists filed by busy and harried pursers on the trans-Tasman run'. Because Arnold was dealing with the later period he had the added complication of wondering whether some of the 'Australians' travelling to New Zealand were not in fact New Zealand-born travellers returning to their homeland.

<sup>609</sup> Which, by Arnold's period of study, did record Australians by their state of origin.

<sup>610</sup> 'Miss Sadler' commenced duties in September 1854. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020.

Zealand is still unconverted'.<sup>611</sup> Despite supplying the additional information that her brother was unfortunately (by her lights) married to a widow with two children, his New Zealand experience has remained elusive. While there are relatively few SADLERs still in Tasmania, the large number of people with this surname in New Zealand as well as in Victoria has thus far precluded any definite identification *via* the available registers and on-line newspapers. Arnold's thirty-year old concept of the 'invisible' as 'hidden' might still apply as he first envisaged it, but it is not the only interpretation.

Arnold also noted the ease with which Australia and New Zealand absorbed each other's people and it is this aspect of invisibility which is most relevant to this thesis. Invisibility is an important and ongoing concept within the Australia-New Zealand lexicon. Interpreted as a seamless integration or assimilation into a new land or a new and dominant culture, the term has also never been exclusive in this part of the globe. 'Invisibility' has also been used to describe the post-war British in Australia. In essence Hammerton and Thomson define their Britain-Australia take on 'invisibility' as a commonality of language, the fact that Australian culture and politics grew out of the British model and Australians identified with Britain because of it, and that this in turn has led to the British not forming the geographical and cultural enclaves of other post-war migrant groups.<sup>612</sup>

Similarly, the ongoing nature of the concept of invisibility is amply demonstrated by Rosemary Baird's recent analysis of migration in the other direction: of New Zealanders to Australia during the late twentieth century. Baird's thesis holds that New Zealanders fit into Australian life effortlessly because of 'their adaptability, personal drive, and cultural and linguistic similarity'.<sup>613</sup> There is much in these interpretations which resonate with Tasmanian cross-Tasman movement of the mid-nineteenth century.

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<sup>611</sup> Maria Sadler to Kate Weston, 25 November 1877, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/28.

<sup>612</sup> AJ Hammerton and A Thomson, *Ten pound Poms: Australia's invisible migrants*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 9.

<sup>613</sup> R Baird, *Across the Tasman: Narratives of New Zealand Migrants to and from Australia, 1965-95*, (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2012), p. 136.

This chapter will concern itself with interpretations of Tasmanian invisibility, or otherwise, within New Zealand. These include such issues as the reactions of New Zealanders to Tasmanians, the native-born and, at the more personal level, the everyday reality for middle-class Tasmanians in New Zealand.

### New Zealand attitudes to Tasmanians

The elements that composed a 'Tasmanian' were already well defined in New Zealand by the mid-nineteenth century. As already noted in chapter 2 Tasmanians were generally held to be convicts or the spawn of convicts, together with all those connotations attributed to Australians in general of being 'too Irish, too convict and [later] too digger'.<sup>614</sup> The New Zealand press continued to disseminate this message well into the twentieth century. A case in point is the 1910 obituary of the Tasmanian Robert Walter Aitken, whose first wife, Emily Mary HARRISON, was the older sister of Alice HARRISON whose company Eliza ADAMS enjoyed while staying at The Grange in Campbell Town in 1862.<sup>615</sup> While distancing Robert Aitken himself from the stigma of convictism, his obituary was merely one of many articles that continued to remind readers of this aspect of Tasmania's history:

His father<sup>616</sup> was one of the first settlers who came out to Tasmania in the early part of the nineteenth century under the system of land grants to gentlemen of good property under which the immigrants received grants in proportion to their capital. The convicts who were transported for minor offences were assigned to them for servants, so having cheap labour and a good market for their produce by supplying the convict establishment and the troops, they soon created fine estates and were able to live in large houses and keep up good establishments, much as country gentlemen did in England, but with some risk of being shot by runaway convicts and desperate bushrangers. The moral evils of the convict system far exceeded its natural advantages.<sup>617</sup>

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<sup>614</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 317.

<sup>615</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 14 September [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>616</sup> James Aitkin [sic] of Glen Esk, Conara. Archives Office of Tasmania correspondence file (Harrison), TAHO.

<sup>617</sup> Obituary. *Southland Times*, 24 August 1910, p. 5.

In his writings on New Zealanders and their attitudes to a possible federation with Australia, Sinclair contended that nineteenth-century New Zealand developed a sense of superiority where Australia was concerned precisely because the former had never accepted convicts. He stressed that one of the reasons why New Zealand was not attracted to joining the Australian Federation of 1901 was because New Zealanders:

Felt that they were not Australians partly, at least, because they had always been told that they would be different. The New Zealand Company publicity and later publications had stressed that New Zealand settlers would be 'selected stock': there would be no convicts.<sup>618</sup>

Continual reminders of Tasmania's convict past in the press encouraged such sentiments and allowed New Zealanders to congratulate themselves on avoiding a similar fate. Enduring such constant casual reminders of Tasmania's penal past would have eventually palled for middle-class Tasmanians in New Zealand and would have left them with little incentive to assert their previous affiliations even if they had wanted to. The idea of Australians being tainted by their convict past was so widespread within New Zealand that in the early 1980s Arnold still felt able to write of family historians that, 'New Zealanders have always had a strong awareness of their Old World origins, but there has not been the same pride and awareness where Australian links were concerned'.<sup>619</sup>

Despite the constant association of Tasmania with convictism, at this macro level there is no evidence that their colony's convict past in any way prevented respectable Tasmanians from getting on in New Zealand.<sup>620</sup> Genuine ex-

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<sup>618</sup> K Sinclair, 'Why New Zealanders are not Australians, New Zealand and the Australian Federal Movement, 1881-1901' in K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations, New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988), p. 102.

<sup>619</sup> R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler), *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983), p. 70. Thirty years on and this sentiment is changing; this researcher was only too pleased to locate an Australian convict on her New Zealand family tree.

<sup>620</sup> The only person from this research group to be singled out for disapprobation was George 'Scabby' Moore, on account of his uncompromising personality and his farming practices, and



convicts may have felt the need to render this aspect of their past invisible; something they would have done anyway, had they remained in Tasmania or resettled on the Australian mainland. While the New Zealand press enjoyed the opportunity to make comments of a general nature, they often failed to comment on specifics. The extensively reported 1865 trial of Captain William Andrew Jarvey for the murder of his wife did not produce comments in the press regarding the ex-convict nature of many of the other Tasmanians present in the courtroom. It was never mentioned that the deceased, Catherine Jarvey (*née* Shaw), had herself been an Irish convict nor that Jarvey had once worked for the penal administration.<sup>621</sup> Reporters did not express any particular interest in the fact that so many witnesses in the courtroom had previously known each other in Tasmania.<sup>622</sup> Jarvey's barrister, James SMITH, was also from Hobart and the brother of a Tasmanian premier yet his Tasmanian affiliations were likewise not publicised, rendering the Tasmanian-ness of those present virtually invisible. The case itself was possibly of enough local interest that the Tasmanian dimension was superfluous. After all, Jarvey was about to enter history as the first man to be hanged in Otago.

It was Jarvey's execution that instead provided the *Otago Witness* with an opportunity to comment on 'Capital Punishments in the Colonies'. A reliance on hangings across the Tasman was described as a consequence of Australia's 'penal origin' whereas 'in a province like Otago, the natural history of crime is completely different'. The article went on to present Tasmania as a worst case scenario:

In Tasmania, on the other hand, where the convict system longest survived,<sup>623</sup> and where its dregs were most concentrated, the foulest developments of criminal character are habitual. Perhaps in no part of the world is the animal man, in the same degree, a practical social element. The record of executions is only surpassed by the record of

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such comments made no mention of his having arrived from Tasmania. For example, *Lyttelton Times*, 21 March 1860, p. 4.

<sup>621</sup> [www.FOUNDERSANDSURVIVORS.org](http://wwwFOUNDERSANDSURVIVORS.org) Note, Jarvey had 'arrived free' in Van Diemen's Land.

<sup>622</sup> It was only reported in passing that as witness James Sly finished his testimony, he also alluded to a Hobart fire that Jarvey had been suspected of starting and stated: 'There are plenty in Court that understand the whole matter'. *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1865, p. 5.

<sup>623</sup> Note, Western Australia received convicts until 1868, over a decade later than Tasmania. C Bateson, *The Convict Ships 1787-1868*, (Sydney, AH & AW Reed, 1974), pp. 3 and 8.

brutal crimes, the perpetrators of which all the machinery of law, and of a costly detective system, has failed to bring to justice. There have been no delicate and complicated questions of circumstantial evidence. Men and women found dead from foul usage in the streets of the capital; children found violated and brutally “done to death,” within fifty yards of the chief police station, have made patent the fact of murder, and often of something worse. But at that point the revelation has ceased, and the chain of testimony connecting the presumed criminal with the known crime has had missing links.<sup>624</sup>

It can be argued that casting aspersions on one’s neighbours is endemic of popular journalism, with its readiness to pander to its readers with in-jokes (despite many of these reporters being Tasman-crossers themselves).<sup>625</sup> If Tasmania was to continue as a yardstick against which New Zealand could measure itself and come out on top, there was no impetus for the smaller colony to dwindle into invisibility where New Zealand’s newspapers were concerned. None of this was helped by Tasmanians who referred back to Van Diemen’s Land in less than flattering terms, such as crediting their colony with ‘the reputation of being the dust hole of the empire’.<sup>626</sup> New Zealand’s interest in Tasmania’s convict otherness only began to wane a little once that colony became part of a federated Australia and notions of a separate Tasmania abated.<sup>627</sup>

At the personal level the attitude of New Zealanders to individual middle-class Tasmanians would have been quite different to the more general public stigma of convictism. The young professionals of the 1860s, for example, had an advantage over others who travelled as gold rushers (who often travelled with

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<sup>624</sup> *Otago Witness*, 28 October 1865, p. 7. Apparently similar sentiments were expressed in the London *Times* shortly after the cessation of transportation was announced. An editorial was reported as ‘saying that the frequently recurring executions both in Hobart and Launceston proved that, although small offences decreased, the character of the population was degraded’ (J Goodrick, *Life in Old Van Diemens Land*, (Adelaide, Rigby, 1977), p. 207).

<sup>625</sup> For example, from Launceston, James ‘Snyder’ Browne and William Alexander Waddle Wathen.

<sup>626</sup> CS Button, ‘Notes on my life’ (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, p. 61.

<sup>627</sup> Always a love-hate relationship: at the dawning of the twentieth-century, New Zealanders were the ones to react to a belief that their country had become invisible: ‘Australian people do not pay much attention to us’ (evidence taken from a merchant and an MP). *Report of New Zealand Royal Commission on Federation, 1901*, cited in R Arnold, ‘Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920’, *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 5.

friends and remained together on arrival) and this advantage was their professional status. A profession defines a person, so that one would be assessed as 'the new lawyer in town' and not merely as 'another Tasmanian'. The newcomer would be judged on their proficiency as a lawyer and their behaviour as a gentleman and a Tasmanian background would not matter once they had proved themselves professionally. Of the Tasmanian lawyers, both Albert PITT and James SMITH in particular became known at the beginning of their careers for their roles in celebrated cases and it was these cases that provided their status, not where they had come from. James SMITH made a name for himself in Dunedin in 1865 by appearing for the accused in the Jarvey trial (above).<sup>628</sup> SMITH's meticulous preparation, his detailed cross-examination of the medical experts and a six hour address to the jury, were still recalled with admiration in his obituary almost forty years later.<sup>629</sup> This cross-examination was minute and ultimately tedious, but it made his name – even if it did not save his client.

Albert PITT likewise defended William (alias Philip) Levy for a crime that similarly shocked New Zealand. Levy was one of the Burgess gang who in June 1866 ambushed and brutally murdered five men for the gold dust it was believed they were carrying and buried their bodies on Maungatapu Mountain near Nelson.<sup>630</sup> Still listed among the notable trials of New Zealand, PITT was ultimately unsuccessful though he was commended by Judge Johnston in his summing up when he told Levy that he 'had the advantage of being defended by a gentleman who, as you and I have witnessed, has done the very best that could be done for your case'.<sup>631</sup> Levy went to the gallows nonetheless, a fact that would not have damaged PITT's reputation one iota in the eyes of the Nelson community.

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<sup>628</sup> Semi-fictionalised as 'The Jarvey Tragedy'. R Gilkison, *Early Days in Dunedin*, (New Zealand, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1938), pp. 40-53.

<sup>629</sup> Smith stated it was his duty. He did not 'wish to have the reproach on my conscience, that I have left one stone unturned in this matter'. *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1865, p. 5. See also Smith's obituary. *Otago Witness*, 13 January 1904, p. 9, and *New Zealand Truth*, 20 October 1906, p. 7.

<sup>630</sup> Including the Tasmanian-educated surveyor, George Dobson, brother of New Zealand's Sir Arthur Dudley Dobson. PC Sims, *The Butler Sisters: The life and times of Maclaine, Lapham & Radcliff families of Scotland, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 3, (Launceston, self-published, 2010), p. 28.

<sup>631</sup> D Burton, *Confessions of Richard Burgess*, (Wellington, Reed, 1983), p. 177.

The same identification with one's profession would have occurred for bankers, surveyors, insurance brokers and the like. A search of New Zealand newspapers shows that reports identifying people as Tasmanians were relatively isolated. So much so that by the time William DOUGLAS played intercolonial cricket for Otago against visiting Australian teams in 1878 and 1880, no comment was made in the newspapers about the reciprocal birthplaces of any of the players.<sup>632</sup>

Even the earlier high country station managers would have been judged alone, as individuals responsible for others through their work. They possessed skills developed during youths spent on Tasmanian properties, which were personal skills nonetheless. The four Stronach brothers, Donald, William, John and Roderick, were one example.<sup>633</sup> Donald, who in December 1862 was the first to arrive in New Zealand, left Tasmania with a fine reputation as a 'superb' bushman, having earlier accompanied the surveyor James Scott into that colony's uncharted North East.<sup>634</sup> In 1859 a 'Mr. Stronach' had won prizes at Tasmanian pigeon shoots.<sup>635</sup> It is more than possible that this was Donald, and that in 1864 he was also the 'Mr. Stronach' who won the 'pigeon sweepstakes' from eleven other competitors at Dunedin's Vauxhall Gardens.<sup>636</sup> All the Stronach brothers were known for their physical skills. John Stronach's reputation for a formidable work ethic and his general popularity were attested by the commendation he received on his 73<sup>rd</sup> birthday.<sup>637</sup> These sentiments were reiterated in his 1920 obituary:

In his earlier years his physical courage earned for him the soubriquet of "Dare-devil Jack." In latter years his moral courage enabled him to meet financial adversity and straitened means in his declining years

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<sup>632</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 15 January 1878, p. 3, and 14 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>633</sup> Stronachs were interred in the burial ground at Christ Church in Longford, the parish church of Eliza Adams and Kate Clerke. The family would probably not have been known to them socially, as the Stronach *paterfamilias* was originally a Gaelic-speaking stockman from Scotland. J Stronach, 'Facts I have been told and Facts I remember' (ms), 1934, p. 1.

<sup>634</sup> J Beswick (ed.), *MacFarlane's History of North East Tasmania*, (Tasmania, *North-Eastern Advertiser*, 2007), pp. 28, 32, and 145.

<sup>635</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 30 August 1859, p. 3.

<sup>636</sup> *Otago Witness*, 16 April 1864, p. 14.

<sup>637</sup> *Ashburton Guardian*, 6 July 1914, p. 4.

with a smiling face. .... He was conscientious. He earned the confidence of everyone who employed him, whether it was a company owning 100,000 sheep, as at Morven Hills, or a small farmer occupying a hundred acres of land.<sup>638</sup>

Although the Stronach family's Tasmanian beginnings were reported in their obituaries and their Tasmanian family history has been kept alive through the reminiscence written by William Stronach's New Zealand-born wife, it was rather the other things at which they excelled that made them accepted and lauded in New Zealand.<sup>639</sup> Their original identification with Tasmania was never an issue and in this respect they were also just as successfully integrated and invisible as those who arrived from Tasmania with professional qualifications.

Nevertheless, the reality for Tasmanians living in New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century was that even had they wanted to they could never entirely deny their Van Diemonian associations. In the South Island especially, they were surrounded by other Tasmanians with whom they shared a family connection, a previous working relationship or a mutual acquaintance. This means that too much should not be read into small omissions – the fact that one's Tasmanian-ness was not bruited about does not mean that it was not known. Eliza ADAMS' own obituary, for example, contained no mention of her birthplace though it was never something she sought to deny. Tasmania was doubtless seen as irrelevant after 65 years residence in New Zealand.<sup>640</sup> Invisibility was not an issue when one had nothing to hide.

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<sup>638</sup> Obituary. *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 9 March 1920, p. 3.

<sup>639</sup> J Stronach, 'Facts I have been told and Facts I remember' (ms), 1934.

<sup>640</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 11 November 1930, p. 13.



**Figure 9:** Eliza ADAMS as a newly arrived Tasmanian in Wellington, early 1866, aged 21. (Swan & Wrigglesworth *carte de visit*, QVM1991.P.1832, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery)



**Figure 10:** Eliza POWLES (*née* ADAMS) as she became: a pioneer of early New Zealand, in Wellington c. 1905, aged c. 60. (F-46803, Alexander Turnbull Library)

### The native-born

On the micro or individual level, the crux of the issue of 'invisibility' is another vexed question. How long did it take in the nineteenth century to make a 'Tasmanian' or a 'New Zealander', with or without the complication of a possible Australasian collective identity?<sup>641</sup> One way to attempt an answer to this question is to separate out the 'native-born' as a special case.

Native-born Tasmanians and early childhood migrants to Tasmania form eighty per cent of this middle-class move to New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century. This is a significant figure because by 1881 within Tasmania itself, only 65.23% of the male population and 75.51% of the females were native-born.<sup>642</sup>

<sup>641</sup> 'Australasia' was expressed as 'the Australian colonies, New Zealand, and Tasmania', with Fiji occasionally added to the mix. For example see, *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, (Hobart, Maitland and Krone, 1900), v. 1, pp. 26, and 131.

<sup>642</sup> 'Report', *Census of the Colony of Tasmania, 1881*, (Hobart, Government Printer, 1883), p. xix.

Their native-born status also makes these Tasmanians quite different to the bulk of Australians who went to New Zealand. Arnold claimed that the majority of Australians arriving in New Zealand, especially during the gold rushes of the 1860s, had been born in Britain or Europe.<sup>643</sup> Belich also claims that most Australians 'were not native-born in this period; those who were native-born were disproportionately inclined to stay in Australia'.<sup>644</sup>

While such comments may be true for Australians as a whole, 'Australian' as a *quasi*-national identity during the mid-nineteenth century, is still extremely difficult to define, if for no other reason than because Australia as a national entity did not yet exist. However in terms of this investigation into the 86 New Zealand-related Tasmanians whose names have been culled from the correspondence of Eliza ADAMS, just over eighty per cent were either native-born Tasmanians or people who had arrived in that colony before the age of ten.

While it might have been expected that the percentage would be lower for the earlier entrepreneurial group who started their move into New Zealand during the 1850s, this was not so. The fathers in this group who travelled to New Zealand were British-born (three people in total) but the percentage for this group is kept high by their nineteen progeny and accompanying relatives and associates who had been born in Tasmania.

As expected, the second group of young professionals who followed in the wake of the gold rushes during the 1860s were predominantly also Tasmanian-born. Their figure of 82.5 per cent would be higher had not some also been accompanied or followed to New Zealand by a British-born parent. The fact that

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<sup>643</sup> R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler), *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983), p. 70. Note that Fairburn more circumspectly states that 'before about 1885 over half the colonists were overseas born' (M Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1989), p. 165). It is now clear that a proportion would have been native-born colonials from across the Tasman.

<sup>644</sup> Note however that Belich also admits that 'it is also possible that the number of Australian arrivals has been substantially underestimated'. J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 316. Note also that figures for Australians do not always tally (for example, R Arnold, 'Some Australasian Aspects of New Zealand Life, 1890-1913', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 4, no. 1, April 1970, p. 56).

around half of these young middle-class Tasmanians returned home for a Tasmanian bride (predominantly also native-born) does not appear to have precluded them from being absorbed just as easily into New Zealand society.

The importance of fellow native-born colonials within the Tasmania-New Zealand story must not be underestimated, no matter how small the overall percentage within New Zealand's migration statistics. Whether Tasmanians arrived as the sons and nephews of investors or as young professionals, the predominantly native-born status of this group had already provided them with life experiences which were wholly colonial and therefore of greater relevance and potential usefulness to a developing colony like New Zealand than the experiences of the scions of British cities and crofts. As Arnold noted 'the new arrival from Australia is just another "colonial", able with the minimum of adjustment to become "invisible" and to pass as just another "one of us"'.<sup>645</sup>

The 'new chum' tag is a case in point. This term was primarily affixed to new arrivals from the Northern Hemisphere, those without a ready-made colonial experience.<sup>646</sup> In the case of Thomas GROOM's archetypal new chum tale, it was the Tasmanian who was cast as the experienced New Zealand gentleman with a naive member of the British gentry as the new chum to whom he rendered assistance. Augustus Berkeley Capel had fallen in:

With two good-natured miners, who, hearing his story, employed him for three months in removing their tailings, and allowed him to share the ground, as a bed, in a hole in a rock ... After three months' great privation for one not accustomed to rough it, he found a friend in a Mr Groom, manager at Dr Buchanan's station, who lent him the money to make a start afresh.<sup>647</sup>

While the term 'new chum' does not appear to have been used by New Zealanders to define Australians, it is interesting that 'A. Tasmanian' referred to

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<sup>645</sup> R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler), *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983), pp. 70-71.

<sup>646</sup> As also had Alexander Clerke and others previously, through their earlier sojourns in places like Canada, which made colonial experience both a multi-layered and multi-generational attribute.

<sup>647</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 4 February 1869, p. 3.



“new chums” from the other colonies’ when writing about Southland in 1869. While there are several ways to interpret this, it appears that he meant newcomers to Southland who were neither Tasmanians nor other New Zealanders but who were instead mainland Australians. He went on to denote these new chums as people unused to waterproof coats and leggings who were ‘continually growling at being unexpectedly soaked to the skin’.<sup>648</sup> Further proof perhaps of the special nature of Tasmanians within the Southland ethos?

As a group the Tasmanian native-born would, from their own backgrounds and with the assistance of their fellow Tasmanians already in New Zealand, have become immediately invisible within New Zealand society. According to Heywood by 1862 there was very little difference between the two places in their ‘principal rural employments’: ‘*Tasmania* – pastoral, agricultural, and timber-cutting. *New Zealand* – pastoral, agricultural, gold-digging, and timber-cutting’ – all of which would have made New Zealand eminently familiar to Tasmanians.<sup>649</sup> During the pre-gold rush phase, when Tasmanian investors provided the incentive for young men to follow and work their holdings, these younger sons of Tasmania’s farming estates took their agricultural knowledge, their high school educations and their status as gentlemen to New Zealand and translated these assets into positions as pastoral overseers and managers. Then, when this work was no longer available or congenial, their experience and education allowed them to venture into stock and station agencies, insurance and rural banking.

While pastoral workers fitted into the *status quo* it was only New Zealand’s absentee landholders, men like the Tasmanian Robert Quayle Kermode, who remained visible and whose business attracted notice from within New Zealand. Any comment generally took the view that pastoral wealth should not be taken out of the country though there was also occasionally comment of a localised and specialised nature, such as ‘The Shagroon’s Lament’ which described the

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<sup>648</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69, An early account of Southland’s people, settlements and landscape*, by “A. Tasmanian”, (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 49.

<sup>649</sup> BA Heywood, *A Vacation Tour at the Antipodes: Through Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, in 1861-1862*, (London, Longman, 1863), p. 245.

inhospitable nature of the Rakaia Gorge and was directed specifically at Australian stock owners:

Then Squatters beware of the Powers of the Air.  
When you come with your cattle or sheep.  
For New Zealand's a spot just loosed out of pot,  
And the wind there is never asleep.<sup>650</sup>

Tasmanians were drawn to the Rakaia, most probably because Kermode had holdings there and many of his Tasmanian workforce were also inter-related. Tasmanians Francis PITT and Thomas Tayspill DOWLING were early managers of Rokeby, and the latter was also in charge of the Oakleigh Estate and Hillbank Station.<sup>651</sup> Benjamin DOWLING was at Heslerton and also associated with Oakleigh.<sup>652</sup> Charles Hurst was also at Oakleigh – his wife, Mary Ann Ware, was related to the DOWLINGS through marriage.<sup>653</sup> Matthew Ingle BROWNE was later at Highbank.<sup>654</sup> Louis Wood was at Upper Lake Heron Station.<sup>655</sup> Rokeby Station was later owned by Westcote McNab Lyttleton who was also related to Kermode through marriage.<sup>656</sup> Lyttleton's Tasmanian-born granddaughter, Edith Joan Lyttleton, later wrote successfully under the pseudonym of 'GB Lancaster'.<sup>657</sup> Incidentally in her writings she developed a New Zealand 'colonial stereotype' described by Belich as 'romantic maleness, rough diamonds, manly virtue, deep mateship, the high

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<sup>650</sup> G Hart, *Stray Leaves from the Early History of Canterbury*, (Christchurch, Canterbury Caledonian Society, [1887]; facsimile edition), p. 18. Note that the derivation of the term 'shagroon' is not clear. Hart's booklet on the early history of Canterbury states that it was a term specifically for pastoralists who did not arrive direct from Britain, therefore referring principally to stock owners from Australia. *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary* suggests a derivation from the Irish 'seachrán' meaning 'wandering'. The term also refers to 'Australian pastoralists' (T Brooking, 'Together Apart: 231 years of troubled relationship' in B Catley (ed.), *New Zealand-Australia Relations: Moving Together or Drifting Apart*, (Wellington, Dark Horse Publishing, 2002), p. 25).

<sup>651</sup> Groom mentions Pitt: TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920. Dowling's obituary: *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 June 1920, p. 5.

<sup>652</sup> LGD Acland, *The Early Canterbury Runs*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1946), p. 87. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

<sup>653</sup> T Binns, *Henry Hinsby: A Distinguished Apothecary of Hobart Town*, (Launceston, Regal Publications, 2010), pp. 101-102.

<sup>654</sup> LGD Acland, *The Early Canterbury Runs*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1946), p. 103. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

<sup>655</sup> LGD Acland, *The Early Canterbury Runs*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1946), p. 308. [www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

<sup>656</sup> Obituary. *Ashburton Guardian*, 16 August 1897, p. 3.

<sup>657</sup> Edith Joan Lyttleton was also a granddaughter of Captain William Wood (above).

valuation of physical strength and skill, though not gunslinging, the conquest more of nature than natives'.<sup>658</sup> It is interesting that this New Zealand literary archetype should have been forged from an amalgamated Tasmanian-New Zealand background; a clear manifestation of the invisibility of the Tasmanian presence in New Zealand.

### Defining oneself: British, Tasmanian or 'colonial'?

Despite the high incidence of the native-born among these Tasmanians the issue of their perceived inherent 'Britishness' in relation to their invisibility in New Zealand must also be addressed. The argument has always been that by travelling to New Zealand Australians were merely going to another location within what was already their world of the British Empire's southern outposts and that, for a Tasmanian, travelling to New Zealand was little different from going to Queensland. In fact, for a Tasmanian, Queensland was in many ways more 'foreign' than New Zealand. Even with progress in transport and communication, the Tasmanian Fanny Jane Morrah, writing from Wellington in 1887, felt that 'I am better off than Annie with her boys in Queensland a bad climate & out of the way'.<sup>659</sup>

Nonetheless there is much truth in Arnold's assertion that there was a greater closeness between Australia and New Zealand than merely their geographic location within Australasia, with both places having been:

Isolated outposts of British settlement, common participants in the British Imperial system, with common citizenship and unhampered freedom on inter-migration. All significant institutions were either similar or identical. The individual citizen could therefore treat it all as one

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<sup>658</sup> L Wevers, 'The Short Story', and T Sturm, 'Popular Fiction' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, 1991, pp. 211-13 and 501-5, cited in J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 436. Elsewhere described as the New Zealand emphasis on practical utilitarian ethos, 'mateship', a high regard for skill and dexterity, and the pervasive ethos of egalitarianism. E Olssen, C Griffen and F Jones, *An Accidental Utopia? Social mobility & the foundations of an egalitarian society, 1880-1940*, (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2011), p. 104.

<sup>659</sup> Fanny Morrah to Kate Weston, 17 February 1887, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/38.

world, whether looking for gold or for staff, whether selling encyclopaedias or planning bigamy.<sup>660</sup>

The mutual Britishness of both places was explored in particular during the Australian Federation debate of the later nineteenth century. In 1896 the Tasmanian Premier, Edward Braddon, referred to Tasmania as 'the Garden Island' and in the same sentence to New Zealand as 'the Britain of the South', phrases which might have been applied to either place and sometimes were.<sup>661</sup> Such tags are useful for seeking out and defining attitudes and perceptions especially as the Tasmanians and New Zealanders using these phrases had often also lived through the earlier period of the mid-nineteenth century covered by this research. For example 'that tight little island', used by both places and mentioned in the preceding chapter, linked both Tasmania and New Zealand back to Albion and reinforced the illusion of similarities through their shared Britishness.

Nevertheless this particular group of predominantly native-born Tasmanians did not refer to Britain as 'Home' in their letters. Home to Eliza ADAMS and Kate WESTON was always the small 'h' home of Tasmania. On arriving in Dunedin Eliza sent her letters 'home' and referred to Tasmania as 'home' on at least three other occasions.<sup>662</sup> This did not change after her marriage to Charles Plummer POWLES. Thereafter her letters used 'home' for both New Zealand and Tasmania depending on the context. Notions of Home and Britishness may have been articulated more readily by the British-born, or as a facet of political rhetoric seeking to align this part of the world with the values of British society, but the correspondents in the Weston Collection demonstrated little interest in harking back to a British Home.

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<sup>660</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand, aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 9.

<sup>661</sup> ENC Braddon, 'The Federation Movement in Australasia', *Nineteenth Century*, v. 40, 1896, p. 156, cited in J Jackson and M Anderson (eds.), *Australia Imagined: Views from the British Periodical Press 1800-1900*, (Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 2005), p. 214.

<sup>662</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 30 May [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

The letters contained in the Weston Collection indicate that Kate CLERKE's Tasmanian correspondents felt no particular need to overtly associate themselves with Britain or to refer to themselves as 'British'. In fact, they barely refer to themselves as anything indicating that definitions were superfluous between such intimate and mutually compatible friends. Eliza ADAMS also only once used the term 'Tasmanian' in her letters, to describe a gentleman she met at Waikaraka.<sup>663</sup> It was however unusual for Eliza to designate where people had come from in her correspondence with Kate. In Dunedin her hostess, Dora KERR, a southern Tasmanian she met for the first time in New Zealand, was given no attribution.<sup>664</sup> Eliza knew that Kate was not particularly interested in where she visited and who she met. Kate wanted to know about Eliza's feelings and how she was progressing spiritually within her new *milieu*.

When Eliza ADAMS' commented to her friend after two years away, 'there is no one that I have seen in New Z. at all like you, they are all so very colonial', this statement should be read primarily as a sop to Kate WESTON rather than as a particular reading of the epithet 'colonial'.<sup>665</sup> For Eliza the real purpose of this paragraph was to maintain their rekindled friendship as she concluded with, 'but still no one could ever take your place in my heart, as you say, we are so thoroughly one in mind'.<sup>666</sup> Nowhere else in the Weston Collection do Kate's correspondents use the term 'colonial' about themselves or anyone else in Australia or New Zealand. It can only be assumed that here Eliza ADAMS was making a point, not about any inherent Britishness that Kate might have possessed, but instead seeking to exalt her friend as existing on a higher plane above the mere mass of ordinary people.

Eliza ADAMS would have known full well that as native-born Tasmanians she and Kate were themselves both truly colonial. This was not something they

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<sup>663</sup> '& Mr. Chalmers a Tasmanian were staying here'. Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 3 March 1866, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. This was Frederick Bisdee Chalmers, brother-in-law of Edwin Meredith.

<sup>664</sup> Dorathea (sic) Kerr was a daughter of William Henry Dixon of Kenmere Tasmania, who married John Francis Forrester Kerr in September 1832 (*Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1832 1872/36). After her husband's death in 1862 Mrs Kerr and her grown-up children moved to Dunedin, following in the wake of her eldest son John Henry Kerr.

<sup>665</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 8 May [1867], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18.

<sup>666</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 8 May [1867], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18.

needed to apologise for among their own connections in either country. It would only have been brought to their attention when confronted by a British emigrant who would in any case have lumped all colonials together. In the minds of non-colonials there would have been no need to differentiate whether a person was from Tasmania, New Zealand or New South Wales, they were all equally colonial. For Australians and New Zealanders alike the generality of the concept 'colonial' as expressed by outsiders, would have further served to facilitate their rapid integration into a new homogeneity of the colonial native-born.

### Tasmanian attitudes to New Zealand

Separate to the Weston Collection correspondents, there were other Tasmanians who had a public audience in mind when they put pen to paper about New Zealand. Reminiscence writers, such as the returnees George Stanton Crouch and 'A. Tasmanian', were happy not only to drop the occasional Tasmanian name but also to make comparisons with aspects of New Zealand life, especially its flora and fauna.<sup>667</sup>

What is interesting about these writers was their own easy integration into New Zealand life (at least in the way they wrote about their time there) and their just as easy re-integration back into Tasmanian life. They made no comparative value judgements about one way of life or the other and, in the case of Crouch whose reminiscences cover his whole life, he unashamedly used both his Tasmanian contacts in Southland, when he was initially provided with a job by John Hamilton in 1863, as well as using his seven years in New Zealand to help inform his subsequent career in Hobart politics.

Crouch returned home from New Zealand in 1871 with several experiential advantages. He had managed the *Southland News* and had become closely interested in the power of the press, public affairs, and the workings of government. He was also involved with many of Invercargill's fledgling

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<sup>667</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912). D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69, by "A. Tasmanian"*, (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010).

institutions. Crouch was instrumental in calling for and publicising public meetings for civic improvements, for example when teetotalism took hold in Southland and he helped found Invercargill's Temperance Hall.<sup>668</sup> He was a useful member of the local acclimatisation society when they sought ova from Tasmania for their new salmon and trout ponds on the Makarewa River, along with 'singing birds and fish to be despatched at the same time as the ova was forwarded'.<sup>669</sup>

On his return to Tasmania Crouch wasted no time in passing on the benefit of his Southland experience. Among many other references Crouch alluded to New Zealand in his 1873 defence of the Tasmanian Scab Act.<sup>670</sup> He also gave notice to a meeting of the Hobart Benevolent Society that he would move that all those who wanted relief should sign the total abstinence pledge citing Invercargill as an example of success in this respect.<sup>671</sup> Through the New Zealand newspapers Crouch continued to follow debates across the Tasman, yet in spite of his many references to how things were done in New Zealand Crouch was not overtly critical of either place. He was a pragmatic and energetic local politician who attempted to push Tasmania into being more innovative and proactive in its own right. In an April 1907 letter-to-the-editor he quoted from a piece he had written 'prior to 1880' which he felt still held true for the early twentieth century:

It was always said, 'Let us see what is done in the other colonies.' Why should that be asked? Why should Tasmania always be the last? Could we not strike out some new line of action? What had made New Zealand but having men who were ready to strike out a bold course

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<sup>668</sup> Like Eliza Adams and Kate Clerke, Crouch had taken the pledge of total abstinence in his youth. GS Crouch was president of the Total Abstinence Society (*Southland Times*, 16 August 1870, p. 3) and later was very 'proud of being "teetotal Mayor" of Hobart' (GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 42).

<sup>669</sup> *Southland Times*, 19 June 1868, p. 2. A few brown trout 'were hatched in Christchurch from a consignment of Tasmanian eggs received in 1867, but it is doubtful whether any were released. The first successful liberation is regarded as that made in the Water of Leith, Dunedin, in 1869, when trout hatched from Tasmanian eggs, received in 1867, were released. Further shipments of browns from Tasmania during the 1870s ... were hatched and released throughout New Zealand' (AH McIntock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 676).

<sup>670</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 47. For an additional reference see, *Mercury*, 20 November 1871, p. 2.

<sup>671</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), pp. 47-48. See also page 58 regarding Invercargill's 'No Licence' poll.

irrespective of what was done elsewhere? New Zealand had earned for itself the title of the Britain of the South, and Tasmania might be made the England of the South.<sup>672</sup>

In their correspondence and reminiscences these middle-class Tasmanians expressed no tension between familiarity and strangeness. There was nothing in New Zealand's social mores or in the events unfolding around them that warranted special mention as being different or other. Thomas Francis GROOM, a station manager, instead saw similarities in the work ethic and the need in both places to be able to turn one's hand to anything.<sup>673</sup> McLintock said of New Zealanders that their early struggles developed a people who emphasised 'material gains and ... visible, useful, and tangible development'.<sup>674</sup> This was exactly the same ethos that was already present in Tasmania, an unpleasant characteristic according to Captain William Wood who wrote Home in 1858 that the people of Tasmania were:

Generally ignorant of every kind of knowledge, except that of gaining money, and making bargains (which is not my forte) and with whom not withstanding my very long intercourse, I cannot assimilate.<sup>675</sup>

Any differences mentioned tended to refer to the obvious, such as the scenery. Eliza ADAMS, who had been nowhere in her twenty years other than Northern Tasmania and a few days in Melbourne *en route* was, within days of her arrival

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<sup>672</sup> *Mercury*, 16 April 1907, p. 2.

<sup>673</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>674</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 573.

<sup>675</sup> William Wood to Reverend Donald Owen, 20 August 1858. Transcription provided by Andrew Groom, family history researcher. Note that Thomas Arnold had already written in 1850 that Van Diemen's Land was 'a country where scarcely anything but material interests are thought of' (J Bertram (ed.), *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger: with Further Letters from Van Diemen's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough 1847-1851*, (Auckland, University of Auckland/Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 192). See also, 'struggling gentility stands no chance; the people are essentially commercial, and cannot appreciate it' (*A Ramble in Launceston by New Chum*, (Launceston, Cornwall Chronicle Office, 1879), p. 30). Sentiments corroborated in, D Horne, *Money Made Us*, (Australia, Penguin, 1976), p. 43. And again for New Zealand, Eliza's nephew, Arthur Adams, wrote that 'New Zealand was merely a materialistic paddock for mutton and beef' (A Adams, *A Man's Life*, cited in R Arnold, 'Some Australasian Aspects of New Zealand Life, 1890-1913', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 4, no. 1, April 1970, p. 58).



in Otago, enthusing over the view of Dunedin harbour: 'I cannot describe its loveliness; – the scenery about here is quite different to what I have ever seen'.<sup>676</sup> The scenic impressions Eliza transmitted back to Kate were uniformly positive, though others like George Stanton Crouch and 'A Tasmanian' were not averse to mentioning the constant rain and ensuing mud that they were forced to endure in Southland.

Eliza ADAMS mentioned the possibility of 'home-sickness' only once and she had her reasons, uncertainty being the greatest among them. All the same her response was imminently practical:

I shall have been here 5 months the 26<sup>th</sup> of this month & have not yet seen my brother, I think it is time for me to feel a touch of home-sickness don't you? – but I hope I am not as it would be rather inconvenient at present.<sup>677</sup>

Any sense of initial novelty was not strange enough to provide Tasmanians with an excuse for wishing to be elsewhere. It may have been their Christian cheerfulness and practicality shining through but whatever the reason there was only interest and a positive spirit towards their new surroundings among this group of educated and motivated Tasmanians. While such positivity may have been aided by the fact that they were still physically close to their homeland and able to return should they wish, there was no hint in the letters of any desperate need to return to Tasmania. Any return was to some extent an admission of failure and would only eventuate from an economic or familial necessity such as Francis PITT's 1869 return to his wife's Rooke family in Deloraine after his bankruptcy on the Rakaia.<sup>678</sup> There were occasional returnees, like the West Coast lawyer William Watchorn Perkins, who had left Hobart with relatively little and returned home extremely wealthy.<sup>679</sup> Even 'A. Tasmanian' maintained a positive attitude throughout his description of his Southland sojourn, yet he had returned to Tasmania in 1869 because although

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<sup>676</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 30 May [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>677</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 14 October [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>678</sup> *Star*, 18 May 1868, p. 3. See also, *Star*, 10 June 1869, p. 2.

<sup>679</sup> Obituary. *Mercury*, 20 January 1903, p. 3.

'with excellent testimonials, perfectly qualified by knowledge and experience to act as station-managers, but none of us able to find a station to manage'.<sup>680</sup>

In his articles 'A Tasmanian' referred back to his homeland in a myriad of small ways simply because he knew his readers were interested in comparisons: 'I have been so sharply catechized as to where I went, what I saw, what I did, and what I thought of it'.<sup>681</sup> These were not comparisons of a negative nature. He made many references of interest to Tasmanians, from the 'Tasmanian battens' which formed the boardwalk flanking Invercargill's muddy streets,<sup>682</sup> to the nostalgia experienced during his visit to the property of a fellow Tasmanian, Christopher Basstian:

In the garden I saw a fine bed of young blue gums, a treasure which had been quite unexpected by these [*sic*] who sowed the seed. This had been bought in Riverton as onion seed, and the non-appearance of the savoury roots was richly compensated for by the acquisition of trees so much coveted here and so valuable as the great Tasmanian Eucalyptus.<sup>683</sup>

At this point in its existence New Zealand was still happy to transplant flora and fauna and Tasmanians were members of, or donors to, New Zealand acclimatisation societies.<sup>684</sup> This movement to 'improve' the newer colony by introducing foreign species was another form of integration. Such flora and fauna were not imported for their novelty value but like the transplanted

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<sup>680</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69, An early account of Southland's people, settlements and landscape*, by "A. Tasmanian", (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 56.

<sup>681</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69, An early account of Southland's people, settlements and landscape*, by "A. Tasmanian", (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 6.

<sup>682</sup> '4,400 feet' of battens were shipped from Hobart per the *Picard*. *Southland Times*, 6 January 1864, p. 2. Note also Crouch's comment that 'whenever a house or shop was burnt some of the wooden path was burnt also. The nails stood up in the charred timber, making traffic unsafe, and tearing ladies' dresses and gents' trousers' (GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 24).

<sup>683</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69, by "A. Tasmanian"*, (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 34. Like his fellow Tasmanians, Basstian did not stop at importing flora. He was also said to have deliberately imported mongooses from India in an effort to stem the rabbit plague that later infected Dunrobin (R Jenkin, *New Zealand Mysteries*, (Wellington, AH & AW Reed, 1970), p. 149).

<sup>684</sup> Both GS Crouch and Christopher Basstian were members of the Southland Acclimatisation Society. *Southland Times*, 15 November 1870, p. 2.

Tasmanians themselves were intended to become a part of the New Zealand landscape. Examples abound. When Thomas Dowling accompanied sheep across the Tasman Sea to Lyttelton for George Moore and Robert Quayle Kermode on the specially chartered *Chrishna* [sic] in 1867, it must have been a lively voyage. Dowling had '800 young Saxon merino rams' in his charge.<sup>685</sup> Also on board were 'a number of our well-known insect-destroying birds – the white magpie and a variety of parrots. This is the second lot sent to New Zealand by Mr. Kermode for acclimatisation'.<sup>686</sup> This was not all. On the same voyage Captain Thompson took with him a Tasmanian Devil which had 'succeeded in destroying more than one cage, and is now secured in one fenced in with iron bars'.<sup>687</sup> Also on board were some kangaroos, a wallaby and a wombat, two bronze-winged pigeons and 'a pretty pair of possums' (the two that remained after a third had made its escape).<sup>688</sup> Despite the distractions occasioned by such a menagerie Dowling was obviously worth his pay as he arrived with every ram 'in first-rate order'.<sup>689</sup>

### Fitting in: the everyday reality of invisibility

Flora and fauna aside, any reason for a lack of comment in other areas was because a familiar world awaited these middle-class Tasmanians in New Zealand. Despite her statement that many houses in country New Zealand were 'unfinished' Eliza ADAMS found the same cosy home life and the familiarity and freedom with one's siblings that she had known at home in Tasmania.<sup>690</sup> She described, for example, 'one night when Miss Moore, myself, her brother & cousin were enjoying "high life below stairs" as we call our "tête à têtes" in the kitchen'.<sup>691</sup> She experienced the same difficulties in being able to move about freely and remained beholden to others even for her visits to

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<sup>685</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 2 May 1867, p. 4.

<sup>686</sup> *Colonist*, 12 April 1867, p. 6.

<sup>687</sup> Note, this was not the first Tasmanian Devil imported into New Zealand. In 1864 the Vauxhall Gardens in Dunedin exhibited a Tasmanian Devil, along with a koala and a kangaroo. I Dougherty, *Vauxhall Gardens: Dunedin's Notorious Victorian Pleasure Gardens*, (Dunedin, Saddle Hill Press, 2007), p. 38.

<sup>688</sup> *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 30 May 1867, p. 3.

<sup>689</sup> *Mercury*, 1 June 1867, p. 2.

<sup>690</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 15 August [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>691</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 3 March 1866, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. Eliza might not have been so pleased with this phrase had she known that this was the title of a theatrical farce which had played in New Zealand during the 1850s (JA Wood, *Victorian New Zealanders*, (Wellington, AH & AW Reed, 1974), p. 75).

church: 'tomorrow will be sacrament Sunday, but I am afraid I will not be able to stay as only Mr. W.D. goes to the English Church and I should not like to ask him to wait for me'.<sup>692</sup> The people she met were described in the same terms as the people she knew in Tasmania: 'yesterday we went to the village church, there Mr. St. Hill preached, he is a sincere & consistent Christian I believe, and I thoroughly enjoyed it'.<sup>693</sup> The social mores were no different and the same gentlemanly standard of behaviour was expected among the people with whom she socialised. Kate WESTON's sister-in-law, Fanny Jane Morrah, also maintained her own stringent standards in New Zealand even with fellow Tasmanians. She wrote to Kate that, 'I saw Mrs. Powles not long ago (I do not know her) she was asking after you', intimating that she had never been formally introduced to Eliza POWLES (*née* ADAMS).<sup>694</sup>

Another middle-class Tasmanian, Charles Stockell, was equally concerned with his respectability. Stockell accompanied Thomas Dowling to New Zealand with a load of sheep for Glenmark.<sup>695</sup> Despite a life of manual work in New Zealand, about which he was slightly apologetic in his letters home, Stockell still managed to maintain his more gentlemanly pursuits in Christchurch, such as painting in oils and developing some expertise in photography. He was later offered work colouring photographs but felt his experiences in New Zealand had made him so used to physical work that he would be unable to adapt to sitting at a bench all day.<sup>696</sup> Stockell's experiences in New Zealand, as for the other Tasmanians in this group, did not mean that he had to give up the respectability that was so important to nineteenth-century Tasmanians.<sup>697</sup> New

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<sup>692</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 30 May [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. Mr WD was William Dalrymple junior. Eliza stayed with the Scottish Dalrymple family at Cheshunt in Maitland Street, Dunedin.

<sup>693</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 12 June [1866], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. This was the Reverend Mr. Henry W St. Hill of Crofton College, 'Kia Wara Wara', Wellington.

<sup>694</sup> Fanny Jane Morrah to Kate Weston, [post-July 1880], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/33.

<sup>695</sup> Charles Stokell to Hannah Stokell, [September 1872]. Crowther Collection PQ920 STO, Tasmaniana Library, TAHO, cited in M McKinlay, *Forgotten Tasmanians*, (Launceston, self-published, 2010), p. 165.

<sup>696</sup> Charles Stokell to Hannah Stokell, 1881. Crowther Collection PQ920 STO, Tasmaniana Library, TAHO, cited in M McKinlay, *Forgotten Tasmanians*, (Launceston, self-published, 2010), p. 168.

<sup>697</sup> Respectability being the natural condition of the Tasmanian middle class. S Breen, 'Class' in A Alexander (ed.), *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, (Hobart, University of Tasmania/Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, 2005), p. 410.

Zealand was also a colony in which respectability was, and always has been, of supreme importance.

For these middle-class people the 'other' was not whether one was from Australia, Tasmania or New Zealand *per se*, but instead the uncouth, the unChristian and, as far as Fanny Jane Morrah was concerned, the working class of New Zealand who expected to be paid too much: 'domestic servants wages are far too high for the class we get'.<sup>698</sup> While Belich asserts that 'colonial life blurred class boundaries', and this was something also perceived by British migrants, class was still of importance within Tasmanian society and a reality easily transferred on to New Zealand.<sup>699</sup> Breen defines the Tasmanian consciousness as 'the middle-class ideology of moral enlightenment', of which Eliza ADAMS and Kate CLERKE were living proof. He goes on to state that by 1850:

Its ascendancy reflected the increasing ideological power of the colony's urban middle class of small producers, professionals and civil servants. Temperance and education movements were expressions of this power, as was middle class control of outdoor charitable relief for the colony's destitute. The Tasmanian government's statistics for the 1850s defined class structure in terms of occupations. Rural Tasmania had a four-tiered class structure of gentry, professionals, tenant farmers and landless labourers. Urban class structure included merchants and bankers, professionals and self-employed, the middle-class waged, and the labouring class.<sup>700</sup>

Many of the Tasmanians in this research group had grown to adulthood as this aspect of their colonial society evolved around them, a strengthening of middle-class values that had also occurred in Britain and which was reflected in New Zealand. Nevertheless, for Tasmanians, it should not be forgotten that their societal boundaries were also subtly different to the British norm through the artificial penal and military settlement environment in which they had first found

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<sup>698</sup> Fanny Jane Morrah to Kate Weston, 23 [June 1880], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/33.

<sup>699</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 321.

<sup>700</sup> S Breen, 'Class' in A Alexander (ed.), *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, (Hobart, University of Tasmania/Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, 2005), p. 409.

themselves. Southern New Zealand too had artificial communities, the specially formed Company settlements and the male-dominated gold rush towns. The amalgamation of such various elements made it inevitable that some variations to the British norm would eventually emerge but these were not varied enough to prevent Tasmanians from feeling at home in New Zealand.

One aspect of middle-class Tasmania-New Zealand life that will require greater scrutiny in future is the them-and-us division of New Zealand society into Māori and Pākehā (European). Because of the strong Māori presence in New Zealand, the English, Australians, Scots, Germans *et al* gradually morphed together into a European entity and society divided easily into two streams.<sup>701</sup> The reality of living in a them-and-us society was also familiar to Tasmanians. This middle-class group had themselves been born into a similarly divided and labelled society, where them-and-us equated to convict or arrived free.<sup>702</sup>

Along with there being no evidence that these Tasmanians saw themselves as separate or different to other people in New Zealand, there is also no evidence that Tasmanians ever consciously formed enclaves in New Zealand. At one time there were for example, enough Tasmanians in a town like Invercargill to be met with on a daily basis so that there was no need to form a club or society for maintaining fraternal identity.<sup>703</sup> There was, however, at least one later 'Tasmanian Dinner' held at an unspecified New Zealand location in 1879. To date only one Tasmanian report has been located, based on a letter received from New Zealand, whereby:

Twenty-one young men, natives of Tasmania, dined together on the occasion. All but one hailed from the South of the island, and five were old City School boys. All, too, were in prosperous circumstances, doing well in their prospective business careers – all save one, who was suffering from consumption, and was thus precluded from following his

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<sup>701</sup> L Paterson, 'Pākehā or English? Māori Understandings of Englishness in the Colonial Period' in L Fraser and A McCarthy (eds.), *Far from 'Home': The English in New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2012), p. 141.

<sup>702</sup> During the nineteenth century the argument for superiority in this part of the world would be less to do with colour and more to do with perceived moral values.

<sup>703</sup> Although there was no 'Tasmanian Natives Association' in New Zealand there was, by 1900, 'a combined New Zealand and Australian Natives' Association' in Auckland. Interestingly they toasted themselves as the 'Old Chums Association'. *Auckland Star*, 9 November 1900, p. 2.

occupation. The other 20, to their credit be it said, did not separate until they had taken advantage of the opportunity by subscribing together to render the position of the invalid pecuniarily secure until he would be able to resume work, or until the sad end came. The announcement was received with loud cheering, which will find an echo in Tasmanian hearts throughout the length and breadth of the colony. Long may Tasmanian dinners thrive if they have this truly noble influence, and gain such effective ends.<sup>704</sup>

These middle-class Tasmanians also joined community organisations in New Zealand and were sought out for administrative positions because of the skills they had previously accrued in Tasmania.<sup>705</sup> One of many examples was Joseph Cowie Nichols who had been born in Tasmania in 1859. He went to New Zealand in 1868 with his parents, Charles and Mary Nichols (née COWIE). Charles Nichols was a partner in Dalgety Gore and Nichols. After a farming cadetship in New South Wales Joseph Nichols returned to New Zealand where he developed his property, Fairplace, into 'one of the showplaces of Southland'.<sup>706</sup> His obituary stated that after he retired from farming:

He became highly respectable in North Otago for his philanthropic work. He generously supported all causes in the interests of his fellow-men, and no better monument stands to his memory than the beautiful Maheno Anglican Church, which he and his brother, Cyril Nichols, gave to the memory of his two sons who were killed in World War 1.<sup>707</sup>

Nichols also sat on the committee of the North Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Association, was a director of the North Otago Farmers' Co-operative and served on the Oamaru Harbour Board. Throughout his life he was a volunteer member of the Otago Hussars, as was Donald Stronach (above).<sup>708</sup> Nichols rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and was appointed commander of the Otago military district during World War 1.

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<sup>704</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 23 June 1879, p. 3.

<sup>705</sup> Unlike the oft-cited 'Australian millionaire' (actually an Englishman) George Duppa, about whom it was said his 'lack of public spiritedness was most untypical of early settlers in this country'. AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, pp. 507-508.

<sup>706</sup> Obituary. *Otago Daily Times*, 29 July 1954, p. 4.

<sup>707</sup> Obituary. *Otago Daily Times*, 29 July 1954, p. 4.

<sup>708</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 20 October 1891, p. 2.

While some among these Tasmanians were, like Nichols, from the landed middle class, many were as Belich describes them, the ‘middle respectable ... the quintessential small-town élite ... prominent in street directories, in public meetings and in local voluntary organisations’.<sup>709</sup> In this ‘middle-middle class’ were people like Caleb WHITEFOORD, Resident Magistrate of Kaiapoi, Rangiora and a broad area thereabouts, where despite also being expected to undertake ‘the duties of Registration Officer, Returning Officer for the General Assembly, Census Enumerator and Coroner’<sup>710</sup> he also found time to be an active member of the standing committee of the Diocesan Synod<sup>711</sup> and a participant in Kaiapoi Freemasonry. It was as Captain of the Kaiapoi Rifles that he particularly excelled himself: ‘Captain Whitefoord neglected no drills, nor omitted any opportunity to give his men encouragement’ and as a result he was buried with full military honours.<sup>712</sup>

George Stanton Crouch’s experience also demonstrates that for a middle-class Tasmanian, committed to the improvement of society no matter where he was located, the difference between Tasmania and New Zealand was negligible – he took his family there with ease, remained for seven years and returned again with ease.<sup>713</sup> His decision to leave Invercargill was also gradual. He stayed longer than many other Tasmanians and managed to weather the decimation of the Southland economy during the late 1860s. In 1871 he made a brief visit to Hobart without having made a firm decision to return. It was an accumulation of factors that brought on the decision to leave Invercargill permanently. He had the option to easily withdraw from his Invercargill partnership, his mother was frail and while staying in Hobart he had had an

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<sup>709</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), pp. 399-400.

<sup>710</sup> Obituary. *Star*, 13 February 1891, p. 3.

<sup>711</sup> In which role he undoubtedly came into contact with Eliza Adams’ husband Charles Plummer Powles.

<sup>712</sup> Obituary. *Star*, 14 February 1891, p. 3.

<sup>713</sup> In the early 1860s Crouch found that, after nine years in operation, his Tasmanian farm was ‘too small for me to rear a family on’. GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 17.



opportunity to talk business with his old friends.<sup>714</sup> When he returned to Invercargill he found his eldest daughter ill and the doctors advising that she 'must be taken to a warmer climate at once'.<sup>715</sup> Only at this point was the rather ironic decision made to return to Hobart.<sup>716</sup> The Crouch family lost nothing from leaving Hobart for Southland and likewise lost nothing by returning. Such ease of movement reinforces the concept of societal invisibility and the lack of any necessity for conscious integration or re-integration.

In other studies marriage can be seen as an ultimate disguiser of birthplace for those who arrived single and married in their new country. However the Tasmanian figures are evenly balanced between the young men who married in New Zealand and those who either took a Tasmanian bride with them or returned home for one. For these Tasmanians the issue of marriage is negligible to any discussion of invisibility. The issues are much more about the mutual familiarity of the social mores of the respectable middle class than about any need to attempt integration through marriage.

If even the British claimed that 'Everything is English' in nineteenth century New Zealand, then who were Tasmanians to demur?<sup>717</sup> They came from a colony where much the same was said of them. In New Zealand there was little for Tasmanians to hold out against. This particular research group of middle-class investors, pastoralists and professionals, every one of them a 'gentleman', were invisible in New Zealand by default. Fanny Jane Morrah, of all the correspondents in the Weston Collection the person most likely to stand upon ceremony and maintain her differences, would never have felt obliged to do so because of her Tasmanian-ness. It was instead her background as the daughter of William Pritchard WESTON, a wealthy pioneer landowner, an

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<sup>714</sup> Mrs Crouch senior had become paralysed in the late 1860s and died in 1876. S Hoe, *Tasmania, Women, History, Books and Places*, (Of Islands and Women series, no. 3; Oxford, The Women's History Press, 2010), p. 210.

<sup>715</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 30.

<sup>716</sup> As far as most people are concerned there is not a great deal of difference between the climates of Invercargill and Hobart.

<sup>717</sup> A Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand*, (London, 1873), v. 2, p. 324, cited in M Harper, "'Everything is English': Expectations, Experiences and Impacts of English Migrants to New Zealand, 1840-1970" in L Fraser and A McCarthy (eds.), *Far from 'Home': The English in New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2012), p. 39.

upright man and a Tasmanian premier, which would have provided her with reason enough to feel that respect was due her wherever she might have found herself.

Thus, by being so invisible across the Tasman, these middle-class Tasmanians lost any separate status they might have established for themselves in New Zealand history. In time New Zealand's mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians became seamlessly absorbed into the generalisation of 'pioneers' and for their New Zealand-born children and grandchildren it was not appropriate that they be anything less. The Tasmanian Edwin Meredith referred to himself as 'the pioneer pastoralist of South Molyneux' when he took pains in his personal memoirs of 1896 to remind the 'present' generation just how soft their lives were in comparison to those who had gone before.<sup>718</sup> Similarly Eliza POWLES' Wellington obituary stressed her pioneering spirit in cheerfully submitting to the hardships of accompanying her brother in his work as a surveyor during the 1860s.<sup>719</sup>

Invisibility can only be relevant if there is a clearly perceived difference available for comparison. For middle-class Tasman-crossers there was none. For these Tasmanians the outcome of invisibility, that of subsuming one identity into another, could be achieved unconsciously. Catherine Helen Spence, writing in 1866 about Australians in general, stated that 'Although [Australian] political institutions are different, and our social distinctions less marked, we are emphatically English'.<sup>720</sup> Englishness was already mutual to Australians, Tasmanians and New Zealanders – the glue that held this part of the empire together. Even the members of the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Native's Association, when they finally decided to accept Australian-born

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<sup>718</sup> 'Mr. Edwin Meredith Relates Past Experiences. An Interesting Interview', extract from *Wairarapa Age*, 18 October 1906 (photocopy located in the back of, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896, held by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Historical Society, Swansea). In his own memoirs he states: 'For it is only those pioneer settlers who really "roughed it" in the very early days of colonization who will ever know the true and full signification of that then very comprehensive expression.' (E Meredith, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896, p. 36.

<sup>719</sup> Obituary. *Evening Post*, 11 November 1930, p. 13.)

<sup>720</sup> CH Spence, 'An Australian's Impressions of England', *Cornhill Magazine*, v. 13, 1866, p. 110, cited in J Jackson and M Anderson (eds.), *Australia Imagined: Views from the British Periodical Press 1800-1900*, (Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 2005), p. 50.

members in 1900, were very clear that they saw themselves as all 'own[ing] allegiance to the British flag'.<sup>721</sup> Tasmanians also fitted right in with what attracted the English themselves to New Zealand, what Belich calls a 'Better Britain', that is, without the convicts and the habitual poor.<sup>722</sup> In this respect middle-class Tasmanians in New Zealand were little different to their British and Australian mainland counterparts for whom any attempt to insist on maintaining points of difference would have been pointless.

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<sup>721</sup> *Auckland Star*, 9 November 1900, p. 2.

<sup>722</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 306.

## CHAPTER 6

### To Break Old Associations

The Tasman was regularly crossed in both directions by those seeking a friendly “far country” in order to break old associations: bankrupts, divorcees, levanter, those “known to the police”, blacklisted union activists, bigamists, and such like.<sup>723</sup>

Arnold’s assertion is true. It applies to both Australia and New Zealand and is part of the vernacular consciousness of both places, from the beginning of the trans-Tasman relationship until the present day. ‘Breaking old associations’, at least in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, has been discussed in chapter 2 with the issue of convicts and the fears they raised in New Zealand. Arnold’s statement also resonates with today’s middle-aged New Zealanders who, as children, knew all too well what was meant by the information that ‘Little Johnny’s father has gone to Australia’.

Can such a concept also be applied to middle-class Tasmanians who crossed the Tasman between 1855-1875? Some pains were taken in the previous chapter to cast mid-century middle-class Tasmanians as the possessors of particularly favourable attributes, and it is true that on the whole middle-class Tasmanians were an extremely respectable group and their aspirations in moving to New Zealand were for self-betterment, in the sense that they intended to take advantage of the better opportunities offered by New Zealand at that time.<sup>724</sup> Not one of them was under duress to flee their homeland. Their *peccadillos* were non-criminal in nature and any concealment of past mistakes

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<sup>723</sup> R Arnold, ‘The Australasian Peoples and Their World, 1888-1915’ in K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations, New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988), p. 53. Previously also used in, R Arnold, ‘The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration, 1885-1910’, *Australian Economic History Review*, v. 26, 1986, p. 6. Note, a levanter is one who absconds, especially with unpaid bets (*Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary*, (1979), p. 756).

<sup>724</sup> A statement supported by most historians, including the family historian Kavanagh in his exploration of his family’s Irish convict-Tasmania-New Zealand-England story: ‘They had come [to New Zealand] to better themselves’. PJ Kavanagh, *Finding Connections*, (London, Hutchinson, 1990), p. 147.

would have been to prevent embarrassment rather than to avoid prosecution. This chapter will discuss Arnold's list of anti-social activities in relation to middle-class Tasmanians, before expanding the concept to include those women for whom the prime disadvantage of remaining in Tasmania was the continuation of their unmarried status. Women who were, in part, seeking to cement a new association.

### Known to the police

By the early 1860s Tasmanians already 'known to the police' had little hope of concealment in New Zealand, as the authorities on both sides of the Tasman were in regular contact with each other:

Periodically a large sheet was forwarded to the police at Lyttelton from Australia, setting forth the descriptions of convicts who had received conditional pardons or tickets of leave, and assigned men or escapees. A substantial reward was offered for the apprehension of the latter class, but, provided they were not undesirable characters, likely to become a burden on the State, they were seldom interfered with when identified.<sup>725</sup>

Senior police officers like Thomas King Weldon, next-door neighbour of Thomas and Helen CLERKE in Invercargill, were 'brought over from Victoria in 1863' because Southland and its hinterland goldfields were said to be much in need of a large organised police force.<sup>726</sup> Weldon had served 'at the Ballarat riots and brought with him a number of constables experienced in handling the troublesome element among the miners'.<sup>727</sup> Dunedin went down the same path, also importing Victorian detectives such as Tuckwell and Thomson.<sup>728</sup>

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<sup>725</sup> The writer was reminiscing about the 1850s when he had been a member of the police force. 'A Pioneer's Story, Old Lyttelton', *Star*, 27 June 1903, p.4.

<sup>726</sup> Helen Clerke to Kate Weston, [pre-mid 1868], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/21.

<sup>727</sup> FG Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers*, (Invercargill, Southland Historical Committee, 1946), p. 95.

<sup>728</sup> When gold was first discovered the Superintendent of Otago, Major JLC Richardson (with whose daughter, Eliza (Lizzie) Rich, Eliza Adams stayed at Port Molyneux), had asked the Governor for assistance. 'In response one hundred men of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the line were dispatched to Dunedin. It very soon, however, became apparent that an army was not required, for the diggers as a body were extremely well behaved, and foot soldiers were useless for enforcing prompt justice in a wild mountainous country such as Otago. ... In their place a body of mounted police was brought from Victoria, and very quickly proved itself capable of dealing

Tuckwell was particularly valuable for his ability to recognise old lags from Tasmania who, it was believed, would soon leave the Victorian fields in droves and cross the Tasman to fresh fields of criminal endeavour.<sup>729</sup> In Christchurch, Tasmania's notorious ex-convict bushranger Martin Cash was not allowed to forget his past. He was co-opted into the local constabulary for the same reasons that Tuckwell proved useful in Dunedin.<sup>730</sup> According to New Zealand sources, by playing one side against the other and running a brothel on the side Cash became a relatively wealthy man.<sup>731</sup> Once home again in Tasmania he was happy to encourage the fiction that he had made his pile on the New Zealand goldfields.<sup>732</sup>

For those ex-convicts who had already made it into the middle class there was no imperative for them to leave Tasmania. Their reasons for leaving were no different to the reasons of other respectable Tasmanians. Henry CLAYTON was the son of a convict but by the 1850s he had more than overcome his antecedents, accumulating much land and able to provide his sons with private educations. As the 'Mountford Day Book' shows, various members of the CLAYTON family, including the ladies, were guests of Alexander and Frances Gertrude CLERKE.<sup>733</sup> This was a family in which there was some snobbery in relation to convictism.<sup>734</sup>

Babette Smith, in *Australia's Birthstain*, suggests that Launceston's Barrett family sent their talented son to Dunedin in order to create a new family history

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with the situation.' R Gilkison, *Early Days in Central Otago: Being Tales of Times Gone By*, (Dunedin, *Otago Daily Times* and *Witness* Newspapers, 1930), p. 110.

<sup>729</sup> *Southland Times*, 15 November 1870, p. 2.

<sup>730</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 4 April 1860, p. 4.

<sup>731</sup> Estimated in New Zealand as 'somewhere about £2000'. *Star*, 1 October 1886, p. 4. From among many personal reminiscences printed in New Zealand newspapers, see for example: *Star*, 4 July 1903, p. 4, and *Press*, 10 September 1909, p. 9.

<sup>732</sup> In his actual memoirs Cash is very circumspect: 'On resigning my situation I went to New Zealand, where I remained four years, after which I returned to Tasmania, and, having saved a little money, I purchased a farm at Glenorchy, where I have resolved to pass the remainder of my days'. M Cash, *Martin Cash: His personal narrative as a Bushranger in Van Diemens Land*, (8<sup>th</sup> reprint; Hobart, J Walch & Sons, 1967), p. 174.

<sup>733</sup> There were eleven Clayton visits between 1852-1859. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG.

<sup>734</sup> See chapter 3 and William Clerke's horror at the imputation that he might be prevailed upon to marry the daughter of an ex-convict.

and to disguise their convict beginnings.<sup>735</sup> Abraham Barrett was indeed the son of two ex-convicts, Joseph Barrett and Mary Dodd. However, given the interconnectedness of Tasmanians throughout the South Island during the mid-nineteenth century, travelling there for the purpose of obscuring one's convict antecedents was never a real option. Smith's assertion is further undermined by the lateness of Abraham Barrett's Tasman crossing in 1873.<sup>736</sup> He was already over forty years old when he went to New Zealand, married with a family, and respectably employed as a school teacher. Even more damaging to Smith's argument is the fact that Abraham Barrett had, in Tasmania, already been elected an alderman in 1861, a Justice of the Peace in 1862, and by January 1864 was Launceston's Mayor.<sup>737</sup> Likewise, his father's death notice in 1865 indicated that the ex-convict had also lived a successful life in Tasmania and died with 'esquire' after his name.<sup>738</sup> It is clear that moving to Dunedin was merely a sensible step in Abraham Barrett's chosen career path – he became a headmaster in Dunedin.<sup>739</sup> As with other Tasmanians, when he returned to Launceston in the early 1890s Barrett took up where he had left off and again 'entered the City Council'.<sup>740</sup>

Similarly, a fully-fledged convict in his own right, Edward Casson Rowntree senior, was also not disadvantaged by his past, neither in Tasmania where his antecedents were known nor in New Zealand. Rowntree is included in this group by virtue of his son's marriage to Hannah BUTTON,<sup>741</sup> as well as his association with Hobart Quakers such as the father of George Stanton

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<sup>735</sup> Smith bases her assertions on the testimony of present day family members who, before they began researching their family history, believed that the family 'came from New Zealand'. B Smith, *Australia's Birthstain: the startling legacy of the convict era*, (Australia, Allen & Unwin, 2009), p. 53, and pp. 247-253.

<sup>736</sup> P McCausland and M Sargent (compilers), *The Tasmanian Exhibition Launceston 1891-92: with over 1000 biographies from the Launceston Family Album*, (Launceston, Friends of the Library, 2013), p. 78.

<sup>737</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 28 December 1861, p. 5, and 6 February 1862, p. 4, and 21 January 1864, p. 5.

<sup>738</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 30 March 1865, p. 4.

<sup>739</sup> When he left Dunedin Barrett was presented with a small table which is still cherished by his descendants. Personal communication, Janice Barrett, family history researcher.

<sup>740</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 27 October 1899, p. 3.

<sup>741</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1858 289/37. Note that in New Zealand Hannah's death certificate instead gives her maiden name as Chilton, and her mother's name as Elizabeth Button Weymouth Chilton (New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1908/3611).

Crouch.<sup>742</sup> Due to the confusion created by both father and son being named Edward Casson Rowntree, it was not previously known that EC Rowntree senior had also travelled to New Zealand. At the same time as EC Rowntree junior was spruiking himself as the manager (not the owner) of the Tasmanian Timber Yard in the *Otago Daily Times*, the following advertisement also appeared on a regular basis:

Edward Casson Rowntree, Architect and Surveyor, Tasmanian Timber Yards, Athol-Place and Leith-Street, will furnish Drawings, Specifications, and Estimates of any description of building, superintend the erection of buildings, or survey and value without any unnecessary loss of time, and at low charges.<sup>743</sup>

From the appearance of their various advertisements it can be construed that both the father and son operated from the timber yard site, albeit in different capacities. This is corroborated by *Hartnetts Dunedin Directory* for 1863 which listed two Edward Casson Rowntrees, both at Leith Street, one as an 'architect & timber merchant' and the other as a 'carpenter'.<sup>744</sup> It was to be expected that EC Rowntree would assist his carpenter son by establishing a timber yard in New Zealand, especially as this was not his only child to cross the Tasman.<sup>745</sup> Rowntree senior was over fifty when he went to Dunedin as an established Hobart architect and the fact that he had once been a convict made no difference whatsoever.

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<sup>742</sup> Crouch senior and EC Rowntree senior were executive members of the Van Diemen's Land Total Abstinence Society. *Colonial Times*, 28 July 1846, p. 1.

<sup>743</sup> Advertisement. *Otago Daily Times*, 26 March 1862, p. 1, and 7 April 1862, p. 7.

<sup>744</sup> The following year *Mackay's Otago Almanac* listed one as 'architect and surveyor' and the other as 'timber merchant'. 'Otago Nominal Index, University of Otago'.  
<http://marvin.otago.ac.nz>

<sup>745</sup> William Burgess Rowntree and Sophia (Sophy) Burgess Rowntree both settled in New Zealand and married there (William to Esther Remington: New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1867/5884; and Sophy to Frederick William Cato: New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1878/350). EC Rowntree junior and his family also remained in New Zealand. His wife, Hannah Winnifred Rowntree (née Button) died in New Zealand in 1908 (New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1908/3611). EC Rowntree junior died in 1922 in Melbourne at the home of one of his daughters (Death notice. *Argus*, 21 January 1922, p. 13).



Dunedin commissions were forthcoming.<sup>746</sup> However the sheer number of other architects also advertising for tenders on that same page of the *Otago Daily Times* in April 1862 implies that while Rowntree senior found himself in a buoyant marketplace, many other younger architects had had the same idea in moving to Dunedin. Even though the Tasmanian economy was still depressed, at least in Hobart his work was known and the family would have enjoyed a network of long-established friendships. In August 1864 Mr and Mrs Rowntree and their six younger children returned home.<sup>747</sup> In December that year Rowntree advertised that he was 'recommencing in business in Hobart Town'.<sup>748</sup> Edward Casson Rowntree senior remained in Hobart until his death in 1893 aged 82, in every way the model of a respected early colonist.<sup>749</sup>

### Failures at home and abroad

There is little evidence that outright fiscal failure, such as bankruptcy, would have provided an especially strong reason for middle-class Tasmanians to leave for New Zealand. For these people, with their strong family networks and their higher educations, bankruptcy was a difficulty which might yet be overcome by remaining in Tasmania. While bankruptcy carried a social stigma, most of the young men in this research group would have been cushioned by the respectability of their families. Charles Edward BUTTON might have lost his law practice in Launceston in July 1862 but it did not prevent him from marrying Louisa COWELL in November that year and whisking her off to Invercargill.<sup>750</sup> Louisa's parents were Henry and Mary COWELL who farmed at Cullenswood near Avoca and, as the bankrupt son of a tanner, CE BUTTON may not at first appear to have been a good choice for a son-in-law.<sup>751</sup> However fourteen years earlier, BUTTON's older brother Thomas had also married into the COWELL

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<sup>746</sup> One Rowntree commission has been confirmed, for H Robertson in Jetty Street (Advertisement. *Otago Daily Times*, 23 April 1862, p. 6). He also later advertised an 'extension of time' for another unspecified tender (Advertisement. *Otago Daily Times*, 5 February 1863, p. 6).

<sup>747</sup> Children and/or unmarried daughters: four misses and two masters. *Mercury*, 2 August 1864, p. 2.

<sup>748</sup> Advertisement. *Mercury*, 31 December 1864, p. 1.

<sup>749</sup> Death notice. *Mercury*, 11 November 1893, p. 1.

<sup>750</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 26 July 1862, p. 2. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1862 78/37.

<sup>751</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that it was necessary for Louisa Cowell to marry though she was reported to be ill before her wedding: 'Louisa Cowell is so very ill, she is suffering from a low fever, she is I believe so very changed thin, & weak, I only hope it is nothing to do with her engagement'. Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, [August 1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

family.<sup>752</sup> CE BUTTON himself had received a Hobart education and had trained with the law practice of Adye DOUGLAS, who would later become premier of Tasmania. Since their tradesmen beginnings in Launceston in the mid-1830s the extended BUTTON family had done extremely well for themselves and their sons were able to marry into equally respectable middle-class Tasmanian families, so that a temporary financial embarrassment was unlikely to be a reason for Charles Edward BUTTON to have to leave Tasmania.

Another Tasmanian bankrupt who went to New Zealand was Stephen SPURLING senior.<sup>753</sup> His need to leave Hobart would have been greater than that of CE BUTTON. SPURLING senior was the first of his family in Tasmania and was listing towards the lower end of the middle class when he was overwhelmed by the fiscal tide of the late 1850s depression. After the 1861 bankruptcy of his overstocked photographic business in Hobart, Stephen SPURLING moved his family to Invercargill in April 1863.<sup>754</sup> If their testimonial to the Captain of the *India* accurately reflected the intentions of all the cabin passengers who signed it, this move was intended to be permanent. The testimonial specifically referred to Invercargill as 'our now adopted home'.<sup>755</sup>

In Invercargill the family set up 'Spurling's Bakery and Store' on the corner of Gala and Dee streets and there they also got into strife sometime in early 1864, a year better known for the financial ruin of Southland's provincial government.<sup>756</sup> Nevertheless advertisements for the sale of their business premises stated that, 'The Auctioneers confidently recommend this Property to the Public – the Takings for the last six months proving it one of the best business positions in Invercargill'.<sup>757</sup> SPURLING senior went on to gain some

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<sup>752</sup> Thomas Button married Elizabeth Cowell. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1848 2093/37. Thomas and Elizabeth Cowell lived on Tasmania's North West Coast (H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of Life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993), p. 211).

<sup>753</sup> There were three Stephen Spurlings, all Tasmanian photographers: the father (c. 1820-1892), the son (1847-1924) and the grandson (1876-1962).

<sup>754</sup> Advertisement for sale of insolvent stock. *Mercury*, 30 September 1861, p. 3. See also, C Burgess, 'The Spurling Collection', *National Library of Australia News*, May 2007, p. 11.

<sup>755</sup> Several members of the Spurling family signed a testimonial for Captain Young after their safe arrival at Invercargill. *Mercury*, 4 May 1863, p. 3.

<sup>756</sup> *Southland Times*, 25 June 1864, p. 2.

<sup>757</sup> Advertisement. *Southland Times*, 18 June 1864, p. 4.

notoriety for almost causing a riot when efforts were made to serve a warrant of possession in May 1864.<sup>758</sup> SPURLING was aware of the deed and its signatories but was perhaps surprised at the speed with which it was executed. Whatever his reasons, he was stated at the later hearing (attended by CE BUTTON who had earlier taken his deposition) to have ‘brandished his axe’ and shown ‘desperate resistance’.<sup>759</sup> SPURLING left Invercargill almost immediately after this incident in May and there is no reference to his being present at subsequent hearings.<sup>760</sup>

The SPURLINGS re-established themselves in Hobart and it is revealing that their financial woes reappeared and bankruptcy loomed again in 1875, in part because of the mental deterioration of Stephen SPURLING senior. It has been suggested by his descendants that this was caused by the long-term toxic effects of the chemicals used in his early photographic experiments and may also account for his behaviour in Invercargill.<sup>761</sup> In September 1886, at the age of 66, Stephen SPURLING senior was incarcerated in Tasmania’s New Norfolk Invalid and Mental Asylum where he remained until his death in April 1892 – a man who had failed to dispose of his own particular demons in New Zealand.<sup>762</sup>

The spectre of bankruptcy and its consequences proved no different whether one was in Tasmania or in New Zealand – it worked both ways. Tasmanians Francis PITT,<sup>763</sup> James Munro CROCKER<sup>764</sup> and Beresford Edward Eustace Huey<sup>765</sup> (clerk to John and Thomas CLERKE in Invercargill<sup>766</sup>) all succumbed in New Zealand. These men also left their respective New Zealand homes and either returned to Tasmania (PITT) or moved on to mainland Australia.

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<sup>758</sup> Shipping notices indicate that Stephen junior had already left for Melbourne. *Otago Daily Times*, 28 January 1864, p. 4.

<sup>759</sup> *Southland Times*, 1 September 1864, p. 2.

<sup>760</sup> Note that a Mr and Mrs Spurling returned to Tasmania via Melbourne in March 1864 (*Mercury*, 18 March 1864, p. 2) though this may possibly have been Mrs Spurling and one of her older sons.

<sup>761</sup> C Burgess, ‘The Spurling Collection’, *National Library of Australia News*, May 2007, pp. 11.

<sup>762</sup> D Cassidy, *New Norfolk Invalid and Mental Asylum: Patient Admissions Register, 1830-1930*. Note, Stephen Spurling senior was incarcerated during a part of the time that Kate’s brother, William Clerke, was also at New Norfolk.

<sup>763</sup> *Star*, 10 June 1869, p. 2. See also, *Star*, 15 April 1869, p. 2; 16 April 1869, p. 2; and 6 May 1869, p. 2.

<sup>764</sup> Advertisement. *Press*, 1 June 1883, p. 1.

<sup>765</sup> *Southland Times*, 9 July 1864, p. 1.

<sup>766</sup> Advertisement. *Southland Times*, 14 July 1863, p. 6.

In Francis PITT's case there is evidence that he may have felt some embarrassment at his predicament. For several months after PITT 'disposed of his interest' in Rokeby Station he remained in New Zealand and filed for bankruptcy:

Bankrupt was a sheep-farmer, and has been sold off by his secured creditors, and for the last nine months previous to his bankruptcy has been existing on what little money he could raise from various sources, as shewn by the accompanying accounts. He has sought the protection of the Court, being unable to pay his account for board and lodging in Lyttelton.<sup>767</sup>

This could be interpreted as the last gasp of an honourable man who stayed on in lodgings while attempting to discharge his debts and salvage something of his reputation, before circumstances forced him to return to his father-in-law's house at Deloraine.<sup>768</sup> Francis PITT's 1869 insolvency was probably as much a result of timing as his own doing. In its history of the importance of wool, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* points out that for the early South Island sheep farmers 'the sale of breeding stock to the late comers was a most lucrative part of the business' but by the mid-1860s 'the demand for sheep for stocking up new runs had been largely met, and prices fell away'.<sup>769</sup> Had he been able to hold on to Rokeby, things might have been different as 'by 1871 the land boom had resumed'.<sup>770</sup> Frank PITT was still at Deloraine when he died in 1909 at the age of 78.<sup>771</sup> As for many of these men who had farmed in New Zealand he was described in his obituary as 'at one time an expert wool classer' but no mention was made of his less than successful association with New Zealand.<sup>772</sup>

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<sup>767</sup> *Star*, 10 June 1869, p. 2. See also, *Star*, 18 May 1868, p. 3.

<sup>768</sup> Pitt's father-in-law was Adolphus Frederick Rooke, a well-to-do landholder and Tasmanian MHA, who also visited the Clerkes at Longford. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVM2003.MS.0020, QVMAG.

<sup>769</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 613.

<sup>770</sup> S Eldred-Grigg, *A Southern Gentry: New Zealanders Who Inherited the Earth*, (Christchurch, Reed, 1981), p. 46.

<sup>771</sup> Death notice. *Examiner*, 18 August 1909, p. 1.

<sup>772</sup> Obituary. *Examiner*, 19 August 1909, p. 5.

One particular New Zealand failure that was avoided by these middle-class Tasmanians was the plight of the failed digger. Despite the fact that many businessmen and young professionals went to New Zealand in the wake of the gold rushes there is no evidence that any of these Tasmanians felt impelled to pursue gold mining *per se*. Not one person amongst this middle-class research group was so desperate, or so 'foolish', that they followed the example of the Launceston market gardener described by a British tourist as having 'given up a certainty of 10s. per diem for the chance of the gold digger' in New Zealand.<sup>773</sup> As a young man, Thomas GROOM dabbled in mining whilst on a visit home to Tasmania – albeit on his uncle's property where he was safe from failure. When he left New Zealand and moved to Queensland in middle age with a wife and two sons to support, he approached his new mining career in a more responsible manner, working first for the Stock Exchange and later establishing himself as a mine manager.<sup>774</sup>

### *Peccadillos and worse*

Marital crises have been one of the most popular reasons for Australians to escape across the Tasman, represented by the 'divorcees' and 'bigamists' entries on Arnold's list. However there were no known divorcees or bigamists among the friends and acquaintances of Eliza ADAMS and Kate CLERKE. Neither were there elopements among this group, though newspapers regularly reported on elopements during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The permanent abandonment of one's marriage partner (and therefore the possibility of future bigamy) was, however, a recognised problem. Both sides of the Tasman suffered.<sup>775</sup> The 1864 report of Hobart's Benevolent Society specifically noted that of the 32 applicants for aid whose husbands were 'away'

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<sup>773</sup> BA Heywood, *A Vacation Tour at the Antipodes, Through Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, in 1861-1862*, (London, Longman, 1863), p. 74.

<sup>774</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>775</sup> Much later, in November 1890, the tables had turned and New Zealand was claiming deserted wives as their foremost intercolonial charity issue. The New Zealand delegate to the Australasian Conference on Charity stated 'that in every important New Zealand town charity organisations were supporting scores of women whose husbands were in Melbourne'. *Australasian Conference on Charity, Melbourne, 11-17 November, 1890, Proceedings*, p. 12, cited in R Arnold, 'Some Australasian Aspects of New Zealand Life, 1890-1913', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 4, no. 1, April 1970, p. 58.

thirteen had gone to New Zealand.<sup>776</sup> Again in 1864, when Tasmanians were recruited for the New Zealand wars, the Launceston Benevolent Society reported:

One new feature was the dispensing relief to families whose husbands and fathers had gone to New Zealand. Many had left for that colony, and in some instances the Society had enabled wives and families to join them there.<sup>777</sup>

Nevertheless, destitute working families and infantrymen were not members of the Tasmanian middle class. The likelihood of desertion and bigamy was also at a greater remove from their immediate experience, if not from their sensibilities.

The only bigamist probably known to members of the ADAMS family, all of whom had lived in Campbell Town during the mid-1850s, was Olive Dormer (*née* Bloor). Olive was the wife of a Launceston publican, William Dormer of the Angel Inn, and both were ex-convict servants of the Leake family of Rosedale near Campbell Town.<sup>778</sup> The Leake family were unusual among Tasmanian landowners for the continuing personal support they provided to their assigned convicts. Olive Dormer was one such example who maintained contact with Sarah Leake after she became free.

In 1862 Olive moved to Dunedin with her adopted daughter, Betsy.<sup>779</sup> There she established a boarding house in Walker Street known locally as the 'Devil's

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<sup>776</sup> 'Benevolent Society Hobart. Report for 1863', House of Assembly Journals, v. xi, (Hobart, 1864). To do justice to their menfolk a proportion of these families would not have been abandoned *per se*; they would instead be waiting for their breadwinner to send funds or to return from New Zealand himself. Kellaway deals with the concern expressed in Tasmania for stranded diggers: R Kellaway, 'Immigration from New Zealand: The Tasmanian Select Committee of 1864', *New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 20*, (Hamilton, New Zealand Geographical Society, 1999), p. 171.

<sup>777</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 31 December 1864, p. 3, cited in J Hopkins-Weise, 'Tasmania and the New Zealand wars of the 1860s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, September 2003, v. 50, no. 3, p. 199.

<sup>778</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette*, 14 January 1862, p. 56.

<sup>779</sup> Elizabeth Dormer married Lars Petersen in 1868. New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1868/5201.

Half Acre'.<sup>780</sup> Her reason for going to New Zealand had been to escape her husband, but in August 1863 she wrote back to Miss Leake that:

Dormer arrived here about a month back and I don't think he is as well now as when he first came he is very troublesome and only having people lodging in the house I would be afraid of him he is very sly and assuming and it takes all my time to watch him and he worrits [*sic*] the very life out of me for me to send him back to Launceston he says if I wont pay for him in the [sm]jack he will walk back again for he will not stop in such a misearable [*sic*] place as this I did not know of him coming till he walked in the house and he leaped and jumped about just like a kangaroo.<sup>781</sup>

Within months of his arrival in Dunedin William Dormer was incarcerated at the Seacliff Lunatic Asylum.<sup>782</sup> He remained a Dunedin mental patient for the next 27 years, before choking on gristle and dying at about the age of 77.<sup>783</sup> At some point after 1864 Olive lost her own establishment and was reduced to working as a barmaid in Dunedin hotels.<sup>784</sup> She made no attempt to divorce William Dormer (an exercise probably beyond her means) and three years after he was first admitted to the asylum Olive married again. At the age of 44 she became Mrs Captain John Anderson.<sup>785</sup> This marriage occurred in Auckland, at the other end of the country. Olive claimed to be a widow, even though the presence of her husband had been known in Dunedin and it would not have been difficult to ascertain that he was still alive.<sup>786</sup> As a married woman Olive Anderson disappears from the public record. She also disappeared from the ken of her Campbell Town friends, a deliberate act on her part and an indication that she was aware that her second marriage was illegal.<sup>787</sup> The case

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<sup>780</sup> Walker Street was renamed Carroll Street in 1916 to remove its earlier stigma.

<sup>781</sup> Olive Dormer to Sarah Leake, 22 August 1863, University of Tasmania Library, Rare and Special Collection, L.1 / H.77.

<sup>782</sup> Inquest. *Otago Witness*, 6 August 1891, p. 11. Dormer had been admitted on 24 February 1864.

<sup>783</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1891/742.

<sup>784</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 August 1865, p. 5.

<sup>785</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1867/4474.

<sup>786</sup> After Dormer's arrival it was assumed in the press that the boarding house was his property. For example see, *Otago Witness*, 25 September 1863, p. 5, and 12 December 1863, p. 3.

<sup>787</sup> Olive's Campbell Town friends commented on the fact that she had not replied to their letters. Personal communication, Alice Hodgson, Leake family researcher. It has also been posited that Olive may not have wanted her new husband to suspect that she had once been a convict in Tasmania.

of Olive Dormer fits the stereotype of 'breaking old associations' but she was not from the middle class. Her story was in no way typical of the respectable Tasmanian friends of the ADAMS and CLERKE families.

Harry PITT is the only person from this group whose Tasmanian past included a sexual *peccadillo*. He was one of three lawyer brothers from Hobart who settled around Nelson and the West Coast of New Zealand in the 1860s. As one of three brothers he also fits an emerging pattern, whereby one Tasmanian brother succeeded in New Zealand, one achieved a medium success or did not reach his full potential through dying young, and one failed miserably. Harry PITT failed miserably.

Harry PITT was a son of Captain Francis PITT, Harbour Master for Hobart, and a guest of the CLERKEs in 1852.<sup>788</sup> This background meant that Harry enjoyed the same early benefits as his brothers and, like them, he too was admitted to the Tasmanian bar, in September 1863.<sup>789</sup> The seeds of Harry's later destruction in New Zealand were, however, about to be sown in Tasmania.

The British tourist, BA Heywood, exhorted English parents not to send their wayward sons to the colonies because, 'if any young man has a tendency to go wrong in England, he will be certain to do so in a colony' might, in its most literal sense, also be applied to Harry PITT. Harry however was not useless. In New Zealand he had a profession, and he had his brothers and later his wife to provide moral support. Nevertheless it seems clear that he carried 'his vices and his difficulties' across the Tasman with him and once in New Zealand there was little hope that these vices would 'be heard of no more'.<sup>790</sup>

In Hobart in June 1865 'Harry Pitt Solicitor' fathered a son to Elizabeth Birchall. The child was named Percival PITT.<sup>791</sup> No corresponding marriage has been

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<sup>788</sup> Captain, Mrs and Miss Pitt on 27 April 1852, and Mrs Pitt visited on 12 August 1853. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG, QVM2003.MS.0020.

<sup>789</sup> *Walch's Tasmanian Almanac and Guide to Tasmania for 1864*, p. 59.

<sup>790</sup> BA Heywood, *A Vacation Tour at the Antipodes: Through Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, in 1861-1862*, (London, Longman, 1863), pp. 240-243.

<sup>791</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Birth 1865 7783/33. It is interesting that on the birth certificate Elizabeth Birchall's name is underlined, perhaps to denote that she was not married to Harry



located and there is no mention of Harry and Miss Birchall as the parents of other children. Elizabeth Birchall probably died less than four months after the birth though her paper trail is obscure, possibly deliberately. As yet there are no further records for Percival PITT.<sup>792</sup> Elizabeth Birchall was most probably the daughter of a property owner, Charles Birchall, who had died at Orierton in 1853 at the age of 38 leaving 'a widow and a large family to lament their sad bereavement'.<sup>793</sup> There was a death notice for his daughter, Emily Elizabeth Birchall, placed in the *Launceston Examiner* but none in the *Mercury*, the more likely southern paper.<sup>794</sup> She had died at Sandy Bay during the first week of October 1865 at the age of 25 and her death certificate named her only as 'Emma Birchall' although all the other information tallied.<sup>795</sup> This final sad event was registered with the authorities by the undertaker's daughter, Elizabeth Clark, which may, or may not, have been part of a concerted effort to keep Elizabeth and her predicament from polite society.<sup>796</sup>

Harry PITT appears to have escaped public censure and by June 1866 was enrolled as an attorney in New Zealand.<sup>797</sup> His New Zealand career began well, at least in terms of his community profile, no doubt due in part to the consistently high reputation of his younger brother, Albert, who had established himself at Nelson two years before. In April 1867 both Albert and Harry signed a community petition as citizens of Nelson.<sup>798</sup> The following year the PITT brothers (along with another Tasmanian, William Tice Gellibrand) spoke at a public meeting requesting the retention of an armed constabulary at Westport

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Pitt. The actual informant was a Mrs Johnstone of Hampden Road (presumably the dwelling house rented by William Johnstone: *Hobart Town Gazette*, 23 January 1866, p. 219), who did not register the birth until almost a month after the event. There is no known family connection between Mrs Johnstone and Elizabeth Birchall.

<sup>792</sup> No further records for a Percival Pitt or a Percival Birchall have yet been located in the Tasmanian, New Zealand, and Victorian records. Likewise, there is also no mention of this son in Harry Pitt's will; his New Zealand wife was his sole beneficiary (Will of Harry Pitt. Will no. 2495, p. 1. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO).

<sup>793</sup> *Colonial Times*, 16 August 1853, p. 2.

<sup>794</sup> Death notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 5 October 1865, p. 4.

<sup>795</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Death 1865 5900/35. Cause of death: 'phthisis pulmonalis' (TB). Coincidentally, at that time, Harry Pitt's older brother, William, resided at Ashfield which was also in Sandy Bay (now a suburb of Hobart) (*Launceston Examiner*, 19 August 1865, p. 4).

<sup>796</sup> However, it was customary in nineteenth century Tasmania for undertakers to register deaths.

<sup>797</sup> *Colonist*, 8 June 1866, p. 5.

<sup>798</sup> Relating to sewerage. *Nelson Evening Mail*, 30 April 1867, p. 3.

to contain an incident headlined as 'Fenianism on the Buller'.<sup>799</sup> In 1869 Harry PITT was appointed a commissioner for the Province of Marlborough.<sup>800</sup>

However, a precursor of his later difficulties occurred during an 1868 election at Westport when PITT acted as scrutineer for a Mr Horne.<sup>801</sup> The subsequent case involved a milkman impersonating a voter, with the imputation that Harry PITT knew the man's vote was invalid but had accepted it all the same.<sup>802</sup> Then in 1870 Harry PITT sued the Union Bank over his commission on property transactions, thereby indirectly suing an old school friend of his older brother, William, namely John Henry KERR, the manager of the bank concerned.<sup>803</sup> This case, which would have cost him the goodwill of the region's bankers for the immediate gain of £20/6/2d, was an indication of Harry PITT's future problems.

In 1871 when he married Mary Ann Taylor of Nelson, he differed from the example of many young Tasmanians in not returning home for a bride.<sup>804</sup> Whether this decision had any bearing on his prior connection with Elizabeth Birchall will never be known. Mary Ann PITT gave birth to a daughter in Blenheim in February 1872 while her husband was still welcome there, but by 1873 the family was in Hobart where a second daughter was born.<sup>805</sup> This expedient move homeward was doubtless in advance of the publication by the *Nelson Evening Mail* of the charge that PITT had deposited £625 of a client's money into his own bank account.<sup>806</sup> This was followed three days later by the *Colonist's* revelation that, 'Mr Harry Pitt's account was overdrawn at the bank by above £600 at the time'.<sup>807</sup> PITT was suspended and ordered to repay the

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<sup>799</sup> *Colonist*, 21 April 1868, p. 3.

<sup>800</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 9 February 1869, p. 3.

<sup>801</sup> While there are several connections between Tasmanian and New Zealand Hornes (including two children of Robert George Horne who married New Zealanders in the later nineteenth century, and the Tasmanian-born musician and composer, Robert Adam Horne, who moved to Christchurch in the late 1890s) it is not yet proven that this particular man was a member of the Tasmanian family.

<sup>802</sup> *Colonist*, 3 July 1868, p. 5.

<sup>803</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 20 August, 1870, p. 2. See also, *Colonist*, 26 August 1870, p. 3.

<sup>804</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 4 April 1871, p. 2. See also, Marriage notice. *Launceston Examiner*, 6 May 1871.

<sup>805</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 2 February 1872, p. 2. *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Birth 1873 3128/33.

<sup>806</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 6 April 1872, p. 2.

<sup>807</sup> *Colonist*, 9 April 1872, p. 3.

misappropriated funds. In May 1872 his offices were taken over by a rival firm.<sup>808</sup> In June the Court of Appeal in Wellington formally suspended Harry PITT for four years.<sup>809</sup>

Quite what Harry PITT intended by returning to New Zealand was never stated. It was possibly his wife's decision as Tasmania had never been her home. Their son was born at Westport in June 1875 and it is interesting that the birth of this child was reported under his wife's name rather than his.<sup>810</sup> Harry PITT had possibly already left for Nelson where he died five months later aged 35. His death certificate stated that his demise was caused by complaints exacerbated during the previous five weeks. These resulted in cirrhosis of the liver and fatty degeneration of the heart coupled with an 'effusion on the brain'.<sup>811</sup> While this certificate stated his occupation as, 'of Westport – Solicitor', Harry PITT died at the Custom House Hotel in Nelson.<sup>812</sup> No death notice has been located in New Zealand newspapers – only in Tasmania was Harry PITT's passing acknowledged.<sup>813</sup> According to family history sources and no doubt due to the intervention of his older brother William, Harry PITT was buried in the same plot at Westport as his sister-in-law, Amelia, who had predeceased him by four years.<sup>814</sup>

Being middle-class, with respectable parents and siblings, and having enjoyed a good education before attaining professional status, did not make one immune from temptation. Nevertheless such beginnings would have made the majority of these young men careful to avoid temptation as they had further to fall when they erred. Of the 57 specifically Tasmanian families mentioned in the letters of Eliza ADAMS, it is a compliment to their middle-class respectability that Harry PITT was the only visible reprobate.

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<sup>808</sup> 'Messrs Adams & Kingdon, of Nelson, are about to open a branch of their profession in offices lately occupied by Mr Harry Pitt of Blenheim.' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 2 May 1872, p. 2.

<sup>809</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 20 June 1872, p. 2.

<sup>810</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 12 June 1875, p. 2.

<sup>811</sup> In all, the certificate implies that Harry Pitt drank himself to death.

<sup>812</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1875/1211.

<sup>813</sup> *Mercury*, 13 November 1875, p. 1. See also, *Launceston Examiner*, 16 November 1875, and the annual obituary list in *Walch's Tasmanian Almanac and Guide to Tasmania for 1876*.

<sup>814</sup> [www.tribalpages.com/family-tree/inglisclan/95/396/Harry-Pitt-Family](http://www.tribalpages.com/family-tree/inglisclan/95/396/Harry-Pitt-Family)

### To break the 'association' of spinsterhood

Nothing is more constant, in his letters home, than the complaint that a colonist is lost without a wife.<sup>815</sup>

There was one particular group of people for whom New Zealand also held the promise of freedom from old associations, though their need to escape was unrelated to any anti-social behaviour on their part. These were the spinsters among Tasmania's young women, people like Eliza ADAMS who had little hope of marriage in her home colony. Eliza's personal circumstances have been described in chapter 3. She was not only at the mercy of these circumstances, she was also resident in a colony where the gender balance had been turned on its head. As Bolger states in his work on Hobart, 'at the census of 1847 there had been three adult males for every female. ... [by 1857] there were more women under the age of forty-five than men'.<sup>816</sup> Bolger attributes this change in part to the effects of the Victorian gold rush, while admitting that the causes are not completely clear. In 1847 single women accounted for 39.09% of the Tasmanian population. By 1857 this figure had grown to 58.7% and by 1881 had reached 68.59%.<sup>817</sup> All this meant that by 1861 when Eliza ADAMS and her friends were entering their late teens there were 120 women to every one hundred men in the 20-30 age group.<sup>818</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth century, to be unmarried was very much an association worth breaking. Nevertheless, as in all ages, thinking women of the time would have preferred to enjoy a greater choice in the matter. Fanny CLERKE reported her conversations with Mary Selina DOUGLAS on the marriage question: 'She pities me very much because I cannot agree with her that the most wretched

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<sup>815</sup> J Bertram (ed.), *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger: with Further Letters from Van Diemen's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough 1847-1851*, (Auckland, University of Auckland/Oxford University Press, 1966), p. xxxi.

<sup>816</sup> P Bolger, *Hobart Town*, (Canberra, ANU Press, 1973), p. 73.

<sup>817</sup> 'Report', *Census of the Colony of Tasmania, 1881*, (Hobart, Government Printer, 1883), p. xxix.

<sup>818</sup> 'Report', *Census of the Colony of Tasmania, 1881*, (Hobart, Government Printer, 1883), p. xvii. See also, M Miller, 'Financial Condition of Tasmania: A Speech delivered before a Public Meeting at the Mechanics' Institution, Hobart Town, on 27<sup>th</sup> January, 1862', (Hobart, Pratt and Son, 1862), p. 21.

thing that can happen [to] a woman is to marry'.<sup>819</sup> Similarly, in New Zealand Eliza ADAMS would have been exposed to the ideas of Learmonth DALRYMPLE with whom she stayed at Kaihiku and for whom she expressed a liking.<sup>820</sup> Miss DALRYMPLE never married and was a prominent and successful advocate for the establishment of the Otago Girls' High School in 1871 and subsequently for the admission of women to university.<sup>821</sup> Miss Dalrymple however, had an income of her own.

Whatever their private thoughts might have been, the young middle-class Tasmanian women of Eliza ADAMS' acquaintance understood that marriage was their best option for a respectable life. And, if one found the right husband, there was a likelihood of much greater freedom in the management of one's daily life than what was available to dependent spinsters. For Eliza the expectation of both her family and herself, that she would find a husband in New Zealand, did come to pass. There was no stigma at all in leaving Tasmania for this reason; a reason that was, after all, never openly articulated. The precedent for moving well brought up young women without fortune about the colonies was a long-established one and society thought none the worse of anyone who undertook this particular type of migration.<sup>822</sup>

While many young women would have been actively seeking a husband in New Zealand, the figures indicate that they were not all successful. Among the sixteen single women known to have travelled to New Zealand from the ADAMS, BROWNE, BUTTON, CLAYTON, CROCKER, KERR, PATON, and SPURLING families: nine married in New Zealand, one remained single, four left New Zealand, one died, and there is one unknown. As a percentage, 56% married. This is a much lower average than Belich's contention that 85 per cent

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<sup>819</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Clerke, 2 [? 1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/47. Ironically Mrs Douglas later became Fanny Clerke's mother-in-law (Marriage notice. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 26 January 1874, p. 4).

<sup>820</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 15 August [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>821</sup> AH McLintock, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 441. Also, D Page, 'Dalrymple, Learmonth White 1827?-1906', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

<sup>822</sup> For example, Jane Austen's aunt, Philadelphia Hancock, who travelled alone to Madras in 1752. Her purpose was clear: there was a dearth of English gentlewomen in India and as a consequence the lack of a fortune would not preclude marriage. C Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life*, (London, Penguin, 1997), p. 15.

of adult women remaining in New Zealand in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were married.<sup>823</sup> Though if those who left New Zealand are eliminated (returning home was an option not generally open to migrants from the Northern Hemisphere) along with Cecelia CLAYTON who died, the percentage becomes a more robust 81% of single Tasmanian middle-class women achieving marriage in New Zealand.

In terms of New Zealand, much of the immigration information available for the period 1855-1875 was written with Englishwomen in mind – Englishwomen who, if travelling alone, had to emigrate with employment in mind. Marriage, if forthcoming, would happen later:

I would advise no young lady to go out to any colony either to get a husband, or to be a governess, or to win her bread after any so-called ladylike fashion. She may suffer much before she can succeed, or may probably fail altogether. But any well-behaved young woman who now earns £16 as a housemaid in England would find in New Zealand a much happier home.<sup>824</sup>

Eliza ADAMS and her friends were firmly in the 'ladylike' camp. Their employment opportunities (as companions, nursery governesses and dressmakers) were as limited in New Zealand as they had been in Tasmania, and they would have understood this better than their British counterparts. They knew the situation for working gentlewomen in the colonies through their own close friendships and correspondence with old governesses such as Maria BOURNE and Maria SADLER, and their Longford schoolmistress Myra BELLAIRS. Among their school friends were also women like Rachel Emma Tilley Kilpatrick who also had to take up teaching.<sup>825</sup> Rachel taught the younger children of Archdeacon BROWNE's second marriage and was delighted to leave such pursuits when she herself was offered the post of second wife to the Reverend Rupp and stepmother to his children: 'She says she can get out for a

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<sup>823</sup> 'At the end of the colonial era, in 1881, 43 per cent of adult men, but only 15 per cent of adult women, had never been married.' J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 387.

<sup>824</sup> A Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand*, (London, Chapman and Hall, 1873), v. 2, p. 378.

<sup>825</sup> Sometimes rendered as 'Kirkpatrick'.

drive whenever she likes, & that it is very delightful to be her own mistress, & have done with teaching'.<sup>826</sup>

The experiences of British women travelling to New Zealand under the aegis of the Female Middle Class Immigration Society can be found in the letters edited by Clarke for *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies 1862-1882*.

Incidentally, one young woman went to Puerua to the home of Thomas ORD immediately before Eliza ADAMS stayed there. As a single woman Fanny Thomas had been wary of the gossip that might ensue if she resided in the house of a widower but 'as soon as I saw Mr Ord I felt I had nothing to fear'.<sup>827</sup> Her charge, Christina ORD, was described by Eliza ADAMS as 'about 14 years of age, but she is rather clever & agreeable, she looks about 17, & weighs 11 stones 1 lb',<sup>828</sup> which may have had some bearing on Miss Thomas' view of Mr ORD. These young British governesses were not, however, in the same position as Tasmanian middle-class women. Firstly, they were a long way from Home with virtually no hope of returning there. Secondly, and of especial importance, they arrived in New Zealand without parents or male relations who might vouch for them and provide the sorts of introductions that would lead to marriage. A brother who imported a middle-class Tasmanian sister to provide his home comforts, also imported someone recognisably respectable to accompany him to church and other local events. There, she could, in turn, introduce him to other young ladies and thus both of them gained *entrée* to the homes of their peers.

The Hobart lawyer William Watchorn Perkins was able to build himself a house shortly after his arrival at Greymouth in 1867 and imported two sisters to maintain it for him.<sup>829</sup> From the vantage point of their brother's house 'in Alexander Street on a hill, with a view of the town and the harbour and the

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<sup>826</sup> Fanny Douglas to Kate Weston, 6 December [1874], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/33. Rachel Emma Tilley Kilpatrick married Charles Ludwig Herman Rupp in 1874 (Rowcroft family history site. <http://mepnab.net.au.net/r/>).

<sup>827</sup> Fanny Thomas to Female Middle Class Immigration Society, 12 July 1864. P Clarke, *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies 1862-1882*, (Melbourne, Hutchinson, 1985), p. 156.

<sup>828</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 15 August [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>829</sup> *Walch's Tasmanian Almanac and Guide to Tasmania for 1868*, p. 67. Perkins was admitted to the bar at Dunedin on 2 September 1867 (FA Kitchingham, *Guinness and His Days*, (Greymouth, *Greymouth Evening Star*, 1965), p. 10).

Tasman Sea', his two sisters were able to select from the town's most eligible bachelors.<sup>830</sup> In October 1869 Mary Susannah Perkins married Greymouth's Collector of Customs,<sup>831</sup> and seven days later Helena Meyler (sometimes Mayler) Perkins married the town's Postmaster.<sup>832</sup> Perkins next employed a housekeeper and ran his home as a boarding house before, in his turn, marrying the sister of the manager of the Bank of Australasia in 1870.<sup>833</sup> This circle of government, bank, and legal professionals was a tight one. In January 1871 Clement Winter, the bank manager brother bereft of the comforts provided by his sister,<sup>834</sup> married the sister-in-law of the resident magistrate Caleb WHITEFOORD.<sup>835</sup> She was Edith Willis of Launceston and was in Greymouth as companion to her married sister.

The occasional Tasmanian sister did not fare so well in New Zealand. Emmiline Alice KERR also kept house for her brother in Greymouth. He was John Henry KERR, manager of the Union Bank, but 'afterwards the brother married and the sister had to fend for herself'.<sup>836</sup> Two other KERR sisters, however, did find husbands in New Zealand.<sup>837</sup> Emmiline appears to have had the means to provide for herself though as a respectable single woman she is difficult to trace.<sup>838</sup> An 1884 Greymouth reference lists her merely as a 'lady'.<sup>839</sup> She was still unmarried when she died in 1929 at the age of 84.<sup>840</sup> It was Emmiline KERR who had introduced her fellow Tasmanian, William Watchorn Perkins, to

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<sup>830</sup> JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925, pp. 5- 6.

<sup>831</sup> HF Andrews was an Englishman. Marriage notice. *Grey River Argus*, 23 October 1869, p. 2.

<sup>832</sup> JF McBeth came from Wellington. Marriage notice. *Grey River Argus*, 30 October 1869, p. 2.

<sup>833</sup> JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925, pp. 5- 6.

<sup>834</sup> Jane Winter's daily duties included seeing that the bank was made presentable before opening hours, while her brother was out taking his bath at the hotel. He slept on the counter, while she used the small bedroom. JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925, p. 4.

<sup>835</sup> Marriage notice. *Grey River Argus*, 26 January 1871, p. 2. Edith was the daughter of Richard Harper and Emma (née Berthon) Willis.

<sup>836</sup> JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925, pp. 4-5.

<sup>837</sup> Kathleen Dorathea Kerr married Samuel Naismith (*Otago Daily Times*, 5 May 1863, p. 4) and six years later Mary Anne Kerr married William Mander (*Otago Daily Times*, 18 October 1869, p. 2).

<sup>838</sup> Perhaps after the 1867 death of her widowed mother, Dora Kerr. New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1867/9015.

<sup>839</sup> *Inangahua Times*, 29 February 1884, p. 3.

<sup>840</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1929/1795.



Clement Winter's sister, thus closing the circle on this particular example of Tasmanian interconnectedness.<sup>841</sup>

In 1871 Eliza ADAMS' unmarried sister, Louisa, was also sent across to New Zealand. By this time Louisa was 28 years old and while marriage was still a possibility, her family would not have been sanguine of her chances. Louisa's removal across the Tasman was intended to relieve the financial burden on her mother who was eking out her widowhood in a cottage, first at Avoca and then at Fingal. In Wellington Louisa also proved a dead weight on her sister who, after a visit of two and a half years, wrote that Louie was 'not competent to teach and her health is not good, She is constantly ailing & is an anxiety to us'.<sup>842</sup> Her brothers were unwilling to help. Their apathy upset Eliza and her husband, Charles POWLES, as it put them in a difficult position: 'we find providing for her altogether to be rather more than we can do'.<sup>843</sup> Eventually Louisa was sent to Dunedin on a visit to her brother Charles ADAMS.<sup>844</sup> From there she was returned to Tasmania to live out her spinsterhood with her other sisters and to be buried beside them in the Fingal cemetery.



**Figure 11:** Had she not travelled to New Zealand and found herself a husband the outlook for Eliza ADAMS would have been similarly poignant. These are the shared headstones of her unmarried older sisters, all in a row in the Fingal Cemetery. From left to right: Margaret (86), Jane (93), Louisa (76), Harriet (82) and Mary (84). All the Tasmanian ADAMS sisters remained single, bar one: Jane ADAMS married Joseph Francis Boulton in 1870 when she was 40 years old.<sup>845</sup> (J Paterson, 2011.)

<sup>841</sup> JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925, p. 5.

<sup>842</sup> Eliza Powles to Kate Weston, 5 December 1873, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/23.

<sup>843</sup> Eliza Powles to Kate Weston, 5 December 1873, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/23.

<sup>844</sup> Louisa's journey cost the Powles over £10, a sum they could ill afford after only four years of marriage, the outlay on a new house, the cost of keeping a servant and the medical expenses of a sick baby.

<sup>845</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1870 490/37. Their marriage lasted over thirty years and Boulton's will provided Jane with an income for the rest of her life (Will of JF Boulton. Will no. 8130. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO).

Because the following chapter deals with the ramifications of the perennial interchange and the possibility of a constant movement between Tasmania and New Zealand, it is worth mentioning those women who did not take up the option for further trans-Tasman crossings even though they might have been expected to do so. These were the widows Fanny Sweetnam DOUGLAS (née CLERKE) and Sophia WIGAN (née Arrowsmith).

By the time she was widowed in 1887 Fanny DOUGLAS was already in her forties and living at Gore, a farming support centre and railway junction forty miles north-east of Invercargill (coincidentally known in its early days as Longford, the same name as Fanny's Tasmanian home town<sup>846</sup>). Her husband, William DOUGLAS, was also a Tasmanian with family still resident there. His death left Fanny with a daughter, Sybil, aged six, and no other members of her immediate family resident in New Zealand. The last of her brothers, Thomas CLERKE, had returned to Tasmania in December 1869. Therefore it would have been perfectly reasonable for Fanny to have returned home to Launceston, to divide her time between Thomas' family, her in-laws, and her sisters. Fanny DOUGLAS nevertheless chose to remain in Gore and bring up Sybil on her own.<sup>847</sup> There is no post-1887 correspondence from Fanny in the Weston Collection and thus no explanation in her own hand as to why she chose to remain in New Zealand as a solo mother. Her letters to Kate indicate an eminently practical personality and it can only be assumed that Fanny had found freedom of a kind in New Zealand and had no personal wish to return to Tasmania. By 1887 her parents and her sister Ellen were all dead, as was her brother John. Of her remaining siblings, William was incarcerated in the asylum at New Norfolk, Thomas was busy with his own concerns on the North West Coast, and Kate and Carrie in particular were obsessed with religion. All were reasons enough for her to remain where she was, comfortably situated and able to bring up her daughter in the way that she wanted, without interference.

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<sup>846</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 833.

<sup>847</sup> Note that New Zealanders do not generally count Gore as a particularly desirable place in which to live.

Fanny DOUGLAS remained a widow at Gore. She saw her daughter married in 1910, and died in New Zealand in 1923 at the age of 79.<sup>848</sup>

Sophia WIGAN provides a story from the other direction. She was widowed in Tasmania and, with no children or other family members in that colony, she might have similarly been expected to return to New Zealand to reside with her mother and sister in Wellington. Sophia was one of three interesting women from the Arrowsmith family of London. Her mother, Isabel, had been abandoned by her schoolteacher husband (he absconded to America) and she and her two daughters emigrated to New Zealand in January 1857.<sup>849</sup> Quite why they made this move is unclear, but it is more than likely that the two younger women had already formed the attachments that would lead to their subsequent marriages. Sophia, in particular, had met her future husband in the Crimea. He was a Tasmanian doctor, Ernest Alfred WIGAN, recently graduated from his studies in Edinburgh.<sup>850</sup> After his war service he returned to Tasmania, Sophia arrived from New Zealand, and they were married at Launceston in October 1858.<sup>851</sup>

The WIGANS had no independent means. They relied wholly on the doctor's practice to sustain them, a practice which saw the couple reside in turn at Evandale, Longford and Launceston. There was clearly a deep fondness felt for Ernest and Sophia WIGAN and Mrs Arrowsmith on the part of the ADAMS and CLERKE families. Mrs CLERKE in particular maintained a correspondence with Sophia, and performed little acts of charity for the WIGANS when times became difficult for them. Ernest WIGAN's obituary noted that in about 1868 he was struck down with 'paralysis, which rendered him a cripple and incapacitated him from attending to business, especially a practice in which so much travelling on horseback was required'.<sup>852</sup> His illness had first been

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<sup>848</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Marriage 1910/7656, and, Death 1923/7354.

<sup>849</sup> K Carpenter, *Marsden Women and Their World: A History of Marsden School 1878-2003*, (Wellington, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, 2003), p. 29.

<sup>850</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 15 April 1880, p. 2.

<sup>851</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1858 486/37.

<sup>852</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 15 April 1880, p. 2.

reported as leaving him 'in a very precarious state' during September 1865.<sup>853</sup> This prompted Eliza ADAMS' enquiry from Dunedin: 'I am very much grieved to hear of Dr. Wigan's illness, I trust he may recover but fear from what you say that it will not be the case'.<sup>854</sup> The WIGANs then visited Victoria 'in search of health' before returning to Launceston a short time later and recommencing practise there until 'successive relapses compelled him to finally retire from practice altogether'.<sup>855</sup>

What his obituary did not state was that in 1878 the WIGANs decided to move to New Zealand. Sophia's letters indicate that this was intended to be a permanent move. They gave up everything in Launceston and Mrs CLERKE bemoaned the fact that she could not take them in before they left for New Zealand:

At present it seems the Wigans have no place to go until they [leave] & I fear the poor man will never be able to practise again & they are I fear very poor, do not mention this dear Kate, as they would not like it.<sup>856</sup>

The move to Wellington was a real attempt to provide a home for someone who was by this time 'a great invalid' and, as importantly, to provide a home for his future widow and mother-in-law. Somehow Dr WIGAN weathered the sea voyage and two letters survive from their sojourn in Wellington:

My dear husband and mother bore all fatigues better than we could have expected but I am sorry to say that Ernest has not been so well again. I do not in the first place, think Wellington suits him, and though it has been a great pleasure and satisfaction to us to have been with my sister and her family for a time, we long for a home of our own again although it will necessarily be a very humble one. The bustle of a school is not good for our invalid and then we miss our old friends so much, unless you have been similessly [*sic*] situated you can hardly realize how [dreary] it seems.<sup>857</sup>

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<sup>853</sup> Dr Wigan had an attack of paralysis and remained insensible. *Launceston Examiner*, 21 September 1865, p. 5.

<sup>854</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 14 October [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>855</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 15 April 1880, p. 2.

<sup>856</sup> FG Clerke to Kate Weston, 21 January 1878, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/29.

<sup>857</sup> Sophia Wigan to Kate Weston, 23 July 1878, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/30.

The WIGANS were staying with Sophia's widowed sister, Mary Ann SWAINSON, in her newly opened boarding school on Fitzherbert Terrace. Eliza ADAMS had visited Mrs SWAINSON in 1866 before the death of her husband and stated that 'she reminds me very much of Mrs. Wigan, she seemed so pleased to hear all that I was able to tell her about Mrs. Wigan'.<sup>858</sup>

SWAINSON's biographer has discovered Mary Ann taking her children, including her newborn son, on a visit to Tasmania. They remained there between December 1868 and April 1869. Within six months of her return to Wellington Mary Ann's husband, George Frederick SWAINSON, died unexpectedly at 41, leaving her with five children under the age of ten and only the small house in which they lived.<sup>859</sup> Mary Ann decided to establish a day school for girls in order to provide an income for her family. This was later expanded into the boarding establishment on Fitzherbert Terrace and this school, the Marsden School for Girls, still survives, albeit in other newer premises.<sup>860</sup> Fitzherbert Terrace opened at the beginning of the 1878 school year, only weeks before the arrival of the WIGANS from Tasmania, which doubtless added to the uncongenial bustle they found there.<sup>861</sup>

While the WIGANS returned to Tasmania, Isabel Arrowsmith remained in Wellington at her daughter's school. Fanny Morrah (née WESTON) reported on her continued survival into the 1880s:

Old Mrs Arrowsmith seems [?] & may live to be blind yet, which I trusted at her age she would escape. I shall see her again this week, but last time she said the sight of her one eye was certainly going.<sup>862</sup>

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<sup>858</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 12 June [1866], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>859</sup> K Carpenter, *Marsden Women and Their World: A History of Marsden School 1878-2003*, (Wellington, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, 2003), p. 32.

<sup>860</sup> Marsden is well-known in New Zealand educational circles and both Eliza Powles (née Adams) and Fanny Morrah (née Weston) sent daughters there. Through her good sense and perseverance Mrs Swainson provided a secure upbringing for her children and a school where the girls were treated with understanding and affection. She died in 1897, a year before her mother, and her daughter Mary Jessie Swainson took over the running of the school.

<sup>861</sup> T Murray, *Marsden: The History of a New Zealand School for Girls*, (Wellington, The Marsden School Old Girls' Association, 1967), p. 47.

<sup>862</sup> Fanny Morrah to Kate Weston, [post-July 1882], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/33.

In 1887 she still kept 'very well'.<sup>863</sup> She was described at the age of ninety by one of Mrs SWAINSON's boarders as 'unable to leave her room, but the girls in turn were honoured by an invitation to one of the special delectable teas she loved to dispense'.<sup>864</sup> She finally passed away in 1898 at the age of 97.<sup>865</sup>

Sophia WIGAN's second Wellington letter, written at the end of September 1878, merely confirmed their plans to take passage on the *Ringarooma* and expressed the hope that their friends in Launceston could find them a small cottage to live in.<sup>866</sup> Less than eighteen months later Dr WIGAN was dead.<sup>867</sup> After her bereavement thank-you note to the CLERKEs in April 1880 there is no further correspondence from Sophia WIGAN in the Weston Collection.<sup>868</sup> She lived quietly in her Arthur Street cottage until her own death four years later at the age of 54.<sup>869</sup> Any opportunity for returning to her mother and sister in New Zealand was somehow lost along the way, most probably due to a lack of funds.<sup>870</sup>

For the middle-class Tasmanians who crossed the Tasman Sea during the mid-nineteenth century there was a real opportunity to break with old associations. However, apart from Harry PITT and perhaps Charles ADAMS with his hint of a romance gone wrong (chapter 3), there is no evidence that these respectable and responsible citizens had any need to escape from past deeds by leaving their home colony. Spinsterhood was the most common situation that these people sought to escape yet it was not put forward by Arnold as a reason for Australia-New Zealand migration. In polite society this reason would never have

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<sup>863</sup> Fanny Morrah to Kate Weston, 17 February 1887, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/38.

<sup>864</sup> T Murray, *Marsden: The History of a New Zealand School for Girls*, (Wellington, The Marsden School Old Girls' Association, 1967), p. 52.

<sup>865</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1898/460.

<sup>866</sup> Sophie Wigan to Kate Weston, 28 September 1878, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/30. Incidentally the same ship by which Aphra Clerke (Kate Weston's sister) also intended to return home from a holiday visit to New Zealand.

<sup>867</sup> Obituary. *Launceston Examiner*, 15 April 1880, p. 2.

<sup>868</sup> Sophia Wigan to FG Clerke, 22 April [1880], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/34.

<sup>869</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Death 1884 197/35.

<sup>870</sup> Sophia was left chattels not exceeding £1,050 in her husband's will (Will of EA Wigan. Will no. 2356. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO). Her own will is difficult to read, but appears to bequeath only 'household effects' to her mother, and then on to her Wigan and Swainson relations (Will of S Wigan. Will no. 2962. Archives Office of Tasmania, TAHO).

been articulated, only hinted at, as in Eliza ADAMS' statement that 'it is my duty to go [to New Zealand]'.<sup>871</sup> Nevertheless, the experiences of the Misses ADAMS, BUTTON, CLAYTON, CROCKER, KERR and SPURLING, who accompanied other family members to New Zealand, demonstrate that this was one field of endeavour in which it was possible to cast off previous disappointments in Tasmania and to create a new married life across the Tasman. Through marriage these women became New Zealanders, raised New Zealand children and remained domiciled in that country after the deaths of their respective husbands.

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<sup>871</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 27 October [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

## CHAPTER 7

### The Perennial Interchange

I then went to Victoria and took up a piece of land on Phillip Island, but, as there seemed no prospect of doing any good with it, I gave it up, and went to New Zealand again.<sup>872</sup>

Thomas GROOM's reference to Victoria may seem out of place in a thesis relating specifically to Tasmania and New Zealand but its relevance will become clearer as this chapter progresses. GROOM's peripatetic life was not an isolated occurrence as many Tasmanians similarly came and went during the mid to late-nineteenth century. It is this continuing movement, after their initial move away from Tasmania, that will be explored in this chapter. Such movement is a logical subset of Arnold's concept of the 'perennial interchange'. Arnold's 'interchange' will be reviewed in relation to the middle-class Tasmanians named in the ADAMS letters along with the nature of this particular 'migration'.

### Defining the 'perennial interchange'

My contention is that both the similarities and the diversities of the two communities had worked to create deep-seated continuous two-way trans-Tasman population movements which persisted whatever else was happening. This I term the Perennial Interchange. Superimposed on the Perennial Interchange were strong one way floods created by the particular circumstances of the time.<sup>873</sup>

In any discussion with New Zealand academics on the subject of Australia-New Zealand (or New Zealand-Australia) migration the phrase most often cited is that of the 'perennial interchange'. As developed and described by Arnold, the

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<sup>872</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>873</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 8.



perennial interchange was 'a considerable and growing two-way trans-Tasman movement of population which was deep-seated and continuous in character'.<sup>874</sup> Arnold specifically used his idea of the perennial interchange to describe a series of population movements over defined time periods. The time frame for his research was the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries during which he found New Zealand gaining in population from Australia in the 1870s, only to lose population and to regain it with each subsequent decade.<sup>875</sup>

In collating data to quantify his theory Arnold came up against the same difficulties as he had with his other concepts – the paucity of clear and unequivocal records. This issue is raised again as a reminder of a possible stumbling block to attempting too statistical an approach when assessing trends in Australia-New Zealand people movement. Nevertheless Arnold was still able to extract statistics from the official records, though his tables, such as that showing the percentage of Australian-born among surviving immigrants to New Zealand in the 1921 census, are still fraught with omissions and probabilities also caused in part by the special nature of what the term 'Australian' might comprise.<sup>876</sup>

Arnold's perennial interchange is macro in concept. It is focussed on the bigger picture. It is the everlasting coming-and-going of perpetual motion on a large scale occurring throughout the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Within this perennial interchange Arnold superimposed 'floods'. These were the short-term trends predicated on events that transcended the vagaries of individual lives. These trends were (and still are) the economic and political events, droughts, and so on, that at any given time were occurring in one place or the other.<sup>877</sup>

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<sup>874</sup> R Arnold, 'The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration, 1885-1910', *Australian Economic History Review*, v. 26, 1986, p. 1.

<sup>875</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 6.

<sup>876</sup> R Arnold, 'Some Australasian Aspects of New Zealand Life, 1890-1913', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v. 4, no. 1, April 1970, p. 56.

<sup>877</sup> Arnold also discussed a continuing perennial interchange in trade, literature, religion, shearers and the annual influx of Australian migrant labour, trade unionism and strikes crossing

By concentrating on such trends, the microcosm or the individual experience is to a great extent lost, except when used as an illustration or example of one trend or the other. It is also easy to lose sight of the *minutiae* of individual experience once this information becomes imbedded within the exploration of a trend. For example, one hundred people may move in one direction because of an outside stimulus and ten years later there may be one hundred people moving in the opposite direction for a different reason. This is interesting in itself and will tell the historian a great deal about what was happening at the time. However what could be even more interesting is when these figures are broken down further and the concepts they embody are instead explained through the actions of individuals. For example, when it can be stated that of the one hundred who went one way, fifteen were also people who had arrived from the other direction during the previous decade; that is, they were the same people moving again. Such research can be extended ever further until the subsets become so variable as to be unwieldy, and what is left are the actions of individuals. This focus on a micro view then raises the question of where a thesis such as this might sit within any definition of the perennial interchange?

Any such concerns do not disguise the fact that Arnold's view of the perennial interchange does resonate through the Tasmania-New Zealand story especially because the time frame for this research (1855-1875) sits across three of what Arnold would identify as superimposed floods. These were the opening up of land in Canterbury, the Otago hinterland and Southland during the 1850s, and shortly thereafter the 1860s gold rushes, followed by the 'Vogel boom' of the 1870s. From the Tasmanian side this movement was also influenced by that colony's severe depression which began in the late 1850s – another impetus for a flood of movement. As such this thesis can claim involvement in the perennial interchange as Tasmanians of the mid-nineteenth century responded to outside *stimuli* in exactly the same manner as Arnold's Australians did at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Arnold's primary definition of 'continuous two-way trans-Tasman population movements' fits less easily with this thesis simply because this latter approach is from the individual perspective and not quantitative in focus. Arnold's broad concept works well when applied to populations over long periods of time. It becomes less workable when imposed on the lives of individuals over relatively short time frames. In the microcosm one individual does not equate to another. Nevertheless, with a little modification a variation on the perennial interchange can be applied to the microcosm explored in this thesis. Interchange can instead be read as an action within the lives of those individual Tasmanians who decided to go to New Zealand. This reading still allows interchange to be explored with its perennial descriptor intact.

In this chapter the two-way aspect of the perennial interchange will be internalised, with any comings-and-goings taking place within the one life span. Because this research considers only the first generation of Tasman-crossers this chapter will not discuss the lives of their children, some of whom are known to have crossed back to Tasmania in adulthood.<sup>878</sup> It is, however, worth mentioning one example of interest in relation to Arnold's research: his use of the story of Arthur Henry ADAMS whose New Zealand-Australia experience is cited in 'Some Australasian Aspects of New Zealand Life, 1890-1913'.<sup>879</sup> Had he been aware that ADAMS was himself the son of an Australian Arnold would have been able to extend even further his argument for the perennial interchange. In truth, ADAMS was more than just the son of an Australian. As the son of Charles ADAMS, and a nephew of Eliza, he was also only one generation removed from being Tasmanian.

The lives of the 86 individual Tasmanians whose families are named in Eliza ADAMS' letters and who subsequently went to New Zealand, make it possible to create a small amount of statistical data to match Arnold's two primary criteria for the perennial interchange: two-way and continuous. The simplest

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<sup>878</sup> For example, Hauraki Hereward Maning in the 1870s, and Ada Meta Meredith on her marriage to Evelyn Stanley Archer in 1913.

<sup>879</sup> AH Adams was a New Zealand-born writer and librettist who moved to Sydney where he worked for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Bulletin*. He was the author of the autobiographical *A Man's Life* (London, 1929). N Wattie, 'Adams, Arthur Henry 1872-1936', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

movement, that of returning to Tasmania after time spent in New Zealand, was undertaken by 36 or 41% of these Tasmanians. This figure includes twenty individuals who returned to Tasmania permanently. The temporary visits of the others might include a marriage ceremony or the birth of children, as well as the return of Tasmanians who had been to New Zealand primarily to visit relations there, a proportion of whom were unmarried sisters who might themselves have settled had they found congenial husbands in New Zealand. This figure of 41% can in no way be seen as definitive. Undoubtedly there could have been many more short-term visits home to Tasmania than those currently ascertained from occasional references in letters and reminiscences, and in those rare instances where shipping lists provide a positive identification. Some Tasmanians might also have wished to make a nostalgic visit to their home colony but were prevented by a lack of funds or by the lack of remaining family. One of the saddest reasons for not progressing with a much wished-for return to Tasmania was that given by Charles Stokell.<sup>880</sup> His family may have had a different life had Stokell decided to accept his grandmother's 1882 offer to return to Rokeby to live.<sup>881</sup> His decision to stay in New Zealand, on *terra firma*, appears to have been influenced solely by the loss of the *Tararua* the previous year. The intercolonial steamer *Tararua*, en route between Port Chalmers and Melbourne, struck a reef during heavy seas off the coast of Southland in April 1881; 131 passengers perished and only twenty people were saved.<sup>882</sup> The *Tararua* disaster rocked the complacency of New Zealanders and was not easily forgotten.<sup>883</sup>

The continuous nature of the perennial interchange is illustrated by the 18% of these middle-class Tasmanians who made multiple trips across the Tasman

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<sup>880</sup> Stokell is entitled to be included with this research group because of an early association with Thomas Tayspill Dowling and George Moore of Glenmark. Charles Stokell to Hannah Stokell, [September 1882]. Crowther Collection PQ920 STO, Tasmaniana Library, TAHO, cited in M McKinlay, *Forgotten Tasmanians*, (Launceston, self-published, 2010), p. 165.

<sup>881</sup> Today virtually a suburb of greater Hobart.

<sup>882</sup> AH McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, (Wellington, Government Printer, 1966), v. 1, p. 487.

<sup>883</sup> Exploring the effect of the *Tararua* disaster on Tasmania could prove an interesting future research topic. For example the career of the Tasmanian-born New Zealand journalist, Frederick Nicholls, is said to have been blighted by 'his failure to recognise the importance of the wreck of the *Tararua*'. G Griffiths, *Southern Writers in Disguise*, (Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1998), p. 85.

before finally settling down in New Zealand. Once other Australian destinations are included in the equation this percentage can be increased to 32%. Obviously such a figure does not include men such as Alexander CLERKE whose five (six or seven) visits to the South Island were clearly short and investigative in nature and who never returned to settle in New Zealand. Neither does it include Henry CLAYTON though on his final uncompleted voyage to New Zealand he was intending to settle. This group instead includes people such as Thomas GROOM (below) and Thomas Tayspill Dowling both of whose employment on Kermode and Moore pastoral estates also required their movement between Tasmania and New Zealand. Eugene BELLAIRS also, a surveyor from the professional group, was able to obtain work in any of the colonies and moved regularly in the wake of family and friends before finally settling in New Zealand almost twenty years after his first move there.<sup>884</sup>

Any movement that appears different to the simplest form of migration (that is, from A to B) raises additional questions as to the motivations of the individuals concerned. Does the evidence for a continuing interchange between Tasmania and New Zealand mean that the intended migrant had never actually committed themselves to a permanent removal from their home colony? Perhaps all along their intention was to sojourn and not to migrate? Perhaps they had merely intended to shift, and then to shift again?

### Migrating or shifting?

‘Mobility takes a variety of forms’ and the question of migrating or shifting is one of the big questions raised by any discussion of Tasmanian movement to New Zealand.<sup>885</sup> It is also the question least likely to be definitively answered.<sup>886</sup> The broad definition of ‘migration’ includes the idea of moving from one place ‘to settle in another’ presumably permanently, whereas ‘shifting’ implies an ebb

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<sup>884</sup> Bellairs’ known trajectory is unusually convoluted: New Zealand (1843) – New South Wales – South Australia – Victoria – Tasmania – [unclear] – Tasmania – New Zealand (1862).

<sup>885</sup> T Ballantyne, ‘Mobility, empire, colonisation’, *History Australia* (Australian Historical Association), v. 11, no. 2, August 2014, p. 19.

<sup>886</sup> This question will only truly be answered by a future in-depth study into the full implications of ‘Australasia’ and the movement of people within it; as per Arnold’s statement that ‘we have the habitable lands of the South West Pacific, scattered and divided by sea and desert, being colonized and developed by one people, who for a time knew themselves as Australasians’ (R Arnold, ‘The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration, 1885-1910’, *Australian Economic History Review*, v. 26, 1986, p. 2).

and flow.<sup>887</sup> Arnold includes this question in his comments on the subtleties inherent in Australia-New Zealand movement:

Any real probing of the trans-Tasman relationship quickly throws up a curious blend of certainties and ambiguities, of subtle shifts between near and far and between shifting and emigrating, of uncertainty about one people or two peoples, of interplay between strangers and brothers.<sup>888</sup>

Arnold divided his 'shifting workers' into various categories, creating 'search' migrants (those seeking opportunity), and the more self-evident 'escape' migrants – categories not always helpful for the earlier smaller group of middle-class Tasmanians.<sup>889</sup> Belich also refers to shifting, taking this concept one step further and referring to people movement in the trans-Tasman world as 'more akin to internal rather than external migration'.<sup>890</sup>

Whether mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians saw themselves as migrants or shifters is impossible to decipher. This is not only because their intentions were not clearly expressed at the time, but also because their motivations often changed.<sup>891</sup> Eliza ADAMS herself expressed various conflicting emotions in relation to her New Zealand experience. It is clear from her letters that she wanted to go to New Zealand and was only prevented by others from leaving Tasmania earlier than she did. She also felt that she had a duty to go. This sense of duty was only partially related to the assistance she would be able to render her brother Charles and was a duty she refused to articulate: 'I cannot

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<sup>887</sup> *Concise Macquarie Dictionary*, (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1998), p. 722.

<sup>888</sup> R Arnold, 'The Australasian Peoples and Their World, 1888-1915' in K Sinclair (ed.), *Tasman Relations, New Zealand and Australia, 1788-1988*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988), p. 52. See also, R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 8.

<sup>889</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 12-13.

<sup>890</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 317.

<sup>891</sup> Bearing in mind that all too often it would have been politic to leave Tasmania with the impression that one did not want to go (as stated by Dr Cornelius Gavin Casey at his farewell, *Launceston Examiner*, 3 December 1863, p. 5) or that one intended to return one day (William Henry Clayton, *Launceston Examiner*, 11 April 1863, p. 5) – just in case the new life in New Zealand did not work out.

urge that [duty] as a reason because I should not like to divulge my reasons'.<sup>892</sup> As soon as she arrived in Otago in May 1865 Eliza expressed her approbation for the friendship with which she was received and the pleasure she took in her surroundings, but she still did not indicate whether she had arrived to stay or not. It was not until five months after her arrival that she referred to 'home-sickness', with its implication of a wished for return to Tasmania.<sup>893</sup> This was however a confused reference, intimating that she hoped she was not feeling home sick, even though she might be. In part this denial would have related to the fact that she had not yet met up with her brother who was still away surveying in remote areas. Eliza had been billeted by strangers for months, yet was determined to express no hint of criticism for her brother's neglect of her comfort.

Ten months after her arrival in New Zealand Eliza wrote to her friend Kate WESTON, 'I should so much enjoy a peep at you, but that cannot be for some time I suppose, I do not yet know when I am coming home'.<sup>894</sup> As a penurious unmarried daughter and sister Eliza ADAMS could not 'shift' for herself. Hence it was useless for her to make plans or even to express her own wishes clearly. She had an expectation that she might at some time return to Tasmania but until she was apprised of her family's plans for her that was all it was, a mere expectation. Then from the time of her engagement, contracted over the summer of 1866-1867, there was no more talk of returning to Tasmania.<sup>895</sup> It was not until 1877 that Eliza was able to return home. With her husband Charles Plummer POWLES and their children she took a holiday in Tasmania for the purpose of visiting her mother. While there the POWLES also stayed with Kate at Hythe, the WESTON family property outside Longford.<sup>896</sup> Faced with Eliza's half-statements, and taking into account her unequal relationship with Kate, plus her reasonable concern that Kate might discuss her words with others, it is little wonder that Eliza ADAMS' real motives remain unclear. In

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<sup>892</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 27 October [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>893</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 14 October [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>894</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 3 March 1866, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>895</sup> Fanny Clerke to Kate Weston, 27 March [1867], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/21. Discussed in detail in, Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 8 May [1867], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/18.

<sup>896</sup> Eliza Powles to Kate Weston, 9 September 1877, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/28.

more ways than one she may have begun her New Zealand experience as a shifter, yet she ended it as a migrant.

Similarly, after being transferred to New Zealand, Bank of Australasia employees like Edward Morrah with his wife Fanny Jane (*née* WESTON), and John Henry KERR of the Union Bank, would have had the option of applying for transfers outside New Zealand but they did not do so. For the Morrahs their children had come to see themselves as New Zealanders and obviously intended to remain there. Fanny Jane's parents had moved to Victoria during the 1860s further cutting her childhood ties to Tasmania, a process which had begun with her marriage in 1858 and her own removal to the Australian mainland. Nevertheless in 1887 Fanny Jane Morrah also made a return visit to see her remaining siblings in Tasmania where, in her usual forthright manner, she felt impelled to express her disappointment at the 'decay & not progress apparent in Longford & the places round'.<sup>897</sup> For John Henry KERR, his widowed mother and siblings all followed him to New Zealand and in his new country he married a Scottish-born wife with no known Tasmanian connections.<sup>898</sup> Both men also achieved professional success in New Zealand which would have further influenced their decisions to stay. Whatever the original intentions of the Morrahs and the KERRs, they too became migrants rather than shifters.

When attempting to ascertain their individual status as shifters or migrants it makes no difference whether individuals were from the pre-gold rush entrepreneurial and farming group or among the post-1861 young professionals. Nor did it matter whether they were from the upper or lower ends of the Tasmanian middle class. Those who returned to Australia after a period in New Zealand, those who left Australia or Tasmania a second time, and those who never left New Zealand after their initial arrival, are all evenly spread between these different categories of middle-class Tasmanians.

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<sup>897</sup> Fanny Jane Morrah to Kate Weston, 18 June 1887, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/38. During Fanny Jane's youth Longford had been the third most important centre in Tasmania. By the 1880s it was dwindling towards its present status as a village.

<sup>898</sup> New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1939/28257. Alice Kerr's death certificate indicates that she had been born in Scotland.



On the whole Tasmanians were shifters; 53% of these Tasmanians who went to New Zealand did not stay put. Neither the male and female reminiscences from this group nor the mostly feminine letters of the Weston Collection contain any clearly expressed intent in relation to decisions to cross the Tasman. It is only their subsequent reported actions on which the researcher can rely. Whether Tasmanians became migrants thereafter, or continued to alternate between the two places, was solely dependent upon the situation in which each person found himself. Philip Oakden junior was unusual among middle-class Tasmanians in making it quite clear to Fanny and William DOUGLAS that he and his wife did 'not intend eventually to settle in New Zealand'.<sup>899</sup> Oakden kept to his word though not until he had spent a decade in New Zealand.<sup>900</sup> He was involved in a range of family partnerships which made it easier for him to move on. As well as 'managing a Stud Sheep Station of long and fine wool for Mr Tolmie 40 miles from Dunedin', he was also in partnership with his wife's cousin, Matthew Ingle Browne, in Te Anau Downs and Tapui Downs, as well as in property in New South Wales.<sup>901</sup>

Intending sojourners could still prove significant. Arnold felt that short-term migrants were 'too significant to be ignored'. He went on to say that according to his data set this was a steady flow that grew faster than the colonial populations.<sup>902</sup> Belich joins with Arnold in expressing the opinion that for New Zealand, Australian 'sojourners can be as important as settlers'.<sup>903</sup>

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<sup>899</sup> 'Mr. & Mrs. Oakden have left Town & gone up to their station. They spent an evening with us before they left.' Fanny Douglas to Anne Moriarty, 19 September 1877, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/28.

<sup>900</sup> JG Sinclair, *Who Was Who in Otago among the Run Holders, Club Members, Company Promoters up until about 1880* (ms.), 2003, p. 82.

<sup>901</sup> John Whitehead to Edwin Bowring, 12 July 1875. FA Vernon (compiler) and MN Sprod (ed.), *The Whitehead Letters: Tasmanian society and politics 1871-1882*, (Hobart, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1991), p. 8. See also, A and R Bailey, *An Early Tasmanian Story with the Oakdens, Cowies, Parramores, Tullochs and Hoggs*, (Toorak, Blenallen Press, 2004), pp. 121-123.

<sup>902</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 7.

<sup>903</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 317.

Of the twenty Tasmanians who returned to Tasmania permanently many had undeniably contributed to New Zealand community life. In Invercargill, Charles Stammers BUTTON not only established a viable business, but in 1864 also stood as the candidate for Waihopai.<sup>904</sup> BUTTON had also previously served as superintendent of the Reverend DRAKE's Sunday School.<sup>905</sup> The worth of Thomas Moriarty CLERKE was recognised when he was invited to stand for the Southland Provincial Council (chapter 3). Other Tasmanians who also undertook community service have been noted in chapter 5.

As an extension of the idea of an interchange, what these men brought back to Tasmania was also of value. GS Crouch in particular, recorded many Southland experiences and initiatives in his 1911 memoirs which he would have liked to have introduced into Hobart when he became Mayor of that city. BUTTON, CLERKE, and William Watchorn Perkins, all stood for public office on their return home. Ernest WHITFELD became Launceston's respected Coroner and the self-appointed chronicler of his city's history. Perkins also accrued considerable wealth in New Zealand which was transferred back to the home colony.<sup>906</sup> Hence there were a variety of ways in which a New Zealand sojourn might also prove of benefit to Tasmania.

### The peripatetic Thomas Francis GROOM

One Tasmania-New Zealand shifter who felt it necessary to record all his Antipodean comings-and-goings was Thomas Francis GROOM. In 1920 he collated his reminiscences for the benefit of his granddaughter. These comprise five typed pages full of constant movement.<sup>907</sup> Members of his extended GROOM family were close friends of the ADAMS family and Thomas GROOM's sisters are mentioned in Eliza's letters.<sup>908</sup> In another letter she listed

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<sup>904</sup> *Southland Times*, 4 October 1864, p. 3; 22 October 1864, p. 2; 16 November 1864, p. 4.

<sup>905</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 25.

Confirmed by 'Chas. S. Button' appearing at the bottom of an address regarding remuneration for the pastor: 'To the Congregation Assembling for Worship in the Tay-Street School-Room, Rev. B. Drake, Pastor'. *Family Milestones* (ms).

<sup>906</sup> Obituary. *Mercury*, 20 January 1903, p. 3.

<sup>907</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920. For the wider family background of the Grooms in Tasmania, see FG Groom, *The Grooms of Harefield*, (Rosny, self-published, c. 1985).

<sup>908</sup> Mary and Helen Groom. Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 7 December 1861, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

presents from Thomas' uncle and cousins after her mother and sister had been away from home for two months on a visit to Francis GROOM's property at Falmouth.<sup>909</sup>

Thomas GROOM's father was James Charles GROOM, the eldest of two sons sent to Van Diemen's Land by their father. At first James did well. He obtained a government position, married Elizabeth PARKER of Longford and took up farming outside the nearby village of Carrick, first at Lower Moat and then at Gaters. Then in 1842 James became bankrupt. Back in England, his father was incensed at being embarrassed in this way and retaliated by denying 'James any financial responsibility in the management of Gaters'.<sup>910</sup> It was arranged instead that when her father-in-law died Elizabeth GROOM was to receive one-third of the net income of the property, with the remainder administered for the benefit of the children.<sup>911</sup> However at some time around 1859, when Thomas was about fourteen, the GROOMs left Gaters and his parents and sisters settled in Launceston. Thomas and his older brother, James, then rented a farm near Deloraine from their uncle, Thomas Tucker PARKER. GROOM recorded poignantly that although they stayed almost four years, 'we could not do much good though we worked very hard'.<sup>912</sup>

Given such a background, with three moves before he turned fifteen and little hope of a patrimony, a letter from his cousin inviting him to work for wages on a large property in New Zealand would have been a godsend. Charles GROOM 'wrote to me to come to New Zealand' where he was managing George Thompson's Matakanui Station.<sup>913</sup> Thomas GROOM joined his cousin in New Zealand in 1863 and remained in that colony (with short breaks away) until

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<sup>909</sup> 'She [mother] brought 6 presents for me, one was a pincushion from little Mary Groom, [and] the 2<sup>nd</sup> was some shells from Arthur Groom, the 3<sup>rd</sup> a bundle of seeds from Bessie & Mary G. – ... and 6th 1£ from Mr. Groom to get myself a workbox, was it not kind of him, he heard that I had not one, so sent 1£, as I could get it better in Launceston.' Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 6 August [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>910</sup> FG Groom, *The Grooms of Harefield*, (Rosny, self-published, c. 1985), p. 55.

<sup>911</sup> FG Groom, *The Grooms of Harefield*, (Rosny, self-published, c. 1985), p. 56. Note also that when his father died in England in 1856, James Groom received only a gold watch and £30 whereas his wife, Elizabeth, received a bequest of £100.

<sup>912</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>913</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920. Charles Groom sailed for South America in 1866 before moving on to South Africa. FG Groom, *The Grooms of Harefield*, (Rosny, self-published, c. 1985), pp. 74-75.

1875, with a final visit in 1909. When he first went to New Zealand Thomas GROOM had only recently turned eighteen. He was almost thirty years old when he left New Zealand permanently.

Thomas GROOM was well prepared for the life he was to live in New Zealand. He was a prime example of the young men with Tasmanian agricultural experience who went to Canterbury and North Otago to work on large pastoral properties which were often held by absentee lessees. His movements within New Zealand's South Island were extensive. During his career there GROOM delivered flocks over long distances on at least five occasions, as well as managing or overseeing at Matakanui Station, Galloway Station, Patearoa (twice), and Hyde Home Station.

When he first returned to Tasmania (1868-1871) GROOM tried unsuccessfully to prospect for gold on his uncle's East Coast property. He then went to Victoria where he farmed unsuccessfully on his own behalf on Phillip Island. From there he returned to New Zealand to follow his earlier calling managing pastoral leases. He left New Zealand for a month in the summer of 1872 and returned to Tasmania to marry Annie Hyacinthe Mary Wood.<sup>914</sup> Her three uncles, William de Gouges, Louis Mabile, and Henry Beauchamp Wood, all had their own earlier Southland experiences. Finally, Thomas and his family left New Zealand when the son of the owner of Hyde Home Station arrived to take over its management. They had a six week holiday in Invercargill before travelling on 'to Dunedin where we remained for about three months. During most of this time, I was doing insurance work'.<sup>915</sup>

From Dunedin the family returned to Tasmania in around 1875 where they stayed with Mrs GROOM senior in Launceston and where Thomas was ill with congestion of the lungs. They next went to Victoria and managed Spring Plains Station for six years until that station was sold. In 1881 they moved to Queensland and managed Weribone Station. It was not a healthy place so they moved to Toowoomba early in 1882 and then on to Brisbane where Thomas

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<sup>914</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1872 467/37.

<sup>915</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

GROOM was still living in 1920 when he wrote his memoir. In Queensland Thomas returned to mining; he was a commission agent and a founding member of the Brisbane Stock Exchange. In 1897 at the age of fifty he took up the Big Hill gold mining lease, formed a company and was appointed manager.<sup>916</sup> In 1905 the GROOMs were in England where Thomas sought to sell shares in the Big Hill Mine and obtain machinery, 'but I was not very successful with either'.<sup>917</sup> While they were in London he also researched his own family history. In 1909 he left Queensland again and returned to New Zealand in a second attempt to gain funding for the mine. There he met the representative of an English firm 'through which we are now negotiating'.<sup>918</sup> In 1916 he lost everything in a house fire at Big Hill and his wife died in 1918. Nevertheless life continued; during World War 1 he was a local recruiting sergeant and after the war he ran an insurance agency in Brisbane.

Thomas GROOM's story not only reinforces the idea that many middle-class Tasmanians were shifters, but also demonstrates just how much of New Zealand's South Island he traversed during the course of his life there. It was not unusual to move about in this way. In Thomas GROOM's case, covering such vast distances was to be expected of a station manager, subject as he was to the impermanent nature of his various tenures and the requirements of stock movement. However staying in one place was as unusual for the professional men as it was for the pastoralists. Apart from the lawyers and the occasional doctor who ran their own practices, the majority of these men worked in professions where movement or transfers were a prerequisite: surveying, banking and insurance, building construction, teaching, and the church.

Movement between locations in a new country is to be expected of migrants, positioned as they are with no childhood or family allegiance to one place, so that one locality in New Zealand might be as good as anywhere else. Of those Tasmanians who reached old age in New Zealand, only Albert PITT settled in

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<sup>916</sup> The Big Hill gold mine was situated at Pratten near Warwick, Queensland.

<sup>917</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>918</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

one place, making Nelson his home from 1864 until his death in 1906. However PITT's military and parliamentary career meant that he also spent a great deal of time away from Nelson. As well as a short trip to Tasmania for his wedding in 1866,<sup>919</sup> in 1881 he commanded volunteer troops during the Parihaka engagement in Taranaki.<sup>920</sup> In 1897 he attended the Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in London, as the Colonel in charge of New Zealand's volunteer contingent.<sup>921</sup> Throughout the years PITT also travelled to and from Wellington on parliamentary business, including a 1901 tour of Australia's major cities (including Hobart) as the chairman of the Federation Commission which reported on why New Zealand should not enter a union with the newly formed Australian Federation. PITT also did not die at his home in Nelson, but instead at Christchurch – visiting that city as Attorney-General and Minister of Defence to open their 1906 exhibition.<sup>922</sup>

Albert PITT aside, for all the other ex-Tasmanians who worked to achieve a comfortable middle-class existence for themselves and their families, their subsequent movements within New Zealand were wholly motivated by economic considerations. Arnold prefigured this when he explored what he called 'the Exodus' of New Zealanders to Australia in the late 1880s-early 1890s, when he referred to not only the movement across the Tasman, but also a great deal of internal movement within New Zealand in response to the economic situation.<sup>923</sup> Thomas GROOM was no exception, forced to move on to the next station as the one before was sold or taken over. Even his 1909 trip

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<sup>919</sup> *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1866 120/37.

<sup>920</sup> At the opening ceremony for the Pitt Memorial Gates in Nelson, Colonel Grace specifically referred to the Parihaka campaign as 'the greatest work in a military sense that the late Colonel Pitt performed', along with one or two other statements of doubtful veracity. *Colonist*, 28 May 1914, p. 6. Although no specific charges have been found laid against Major Pitt (other than that of being present) Parihaka and the subsequent destruction of the village at the hands of the military, is just as likely to be discussed in New Zealand today as 'one of the worst infringements of civil and human rights ever committed and witnessed in this country' ([www.parihaka.com](http://www.parihaka.com)).

<sup>921</sup> *Star*, 17 September 1897, p. 4. For occasional comments on Pitt and the Jubilee experience see also, *Diary of TW Slinn* (ms), Ms-papers-1943, Alexander Turnbull Library.

<sup>922</sup> Obituary. *Mercury*, 30 November 1906, p. 8.

<sup>923</sup> R Arnold, 'The Dynamics and Quality of Trans-Tasman Migration, 1885-1910', *Australian Economic History Review*, v. 26, 1986, p. 4.

back to New Zealand at the age of 63 years was not a holiday, but expressly 'to try to get money required' to develop his Queensland gold mine.<sup>924</sup>

Of particular interest to this exploration of the perennial interchange is Thomas GROOM's Victorian experience. Victoria was as much a part of GROOM's world as Tasmania and New Zealand. He first mentioned that colony when recounting his experiences at the age of six years when 'the gold diggings broke out in Victoria [and] a great many people left Tasmania and servants were hard to get'.<sup>925</sup> After his first return from New Zealand in 1869, GROOM then went to Victoria himself. As the quotation that heads this chapter indicates, his attempts at farming there were unsuccessful and he returned to New Zealand again. Two years later he was back in Victoria but only for 'a day or two' spent with his sister and brother-in-law at Brighton as a part of his honeymoon trip.<sup>926</sup> When the GROOMs finally left New Zealand in around 1875, they went back to Victoria 'and got the management of Spring Plains Station, Mia Mia near Redesdale'.<sup>927</sup> Their second son, Roy, was born during the six years they resided in Victoria. GROOM passed through Victoria again at the end of 1904; Annie GROOM had been visiting Melbourne with her granddaughter and Thomas joined them there before they all continued on to England.

GROOM's Victorian experience is included here specifically to demonstrate that it was not a great deal different to his New Zealand experience. Victoria was a gold mining colony in the same way that New Zealand had also become a gold mining destination before Thomas GROOM ventured there. He recorded this aspect of both places, mentioning that in New Zealand one of his duties on Matakanui Station was to help his cousin butcher the large quantities of meat required for the 'many diggers on the run'.<sup>928</sup> Like New Zealand, Victoria was somewhere else to go to from Tasmania, at an even easier travelling distance. Had GROOM been luckier with his choice of land on Phillip Island he might

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<sup>924</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>925</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>926</sup> Susan and AW Smale, a Melbourne solicitor.

<sup>927</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

<sup>928</sup> TF Groom, 'Reminiscences of Thomas Francis Groom' (ms), c. 1920.

have remained in Victoria. Pastorally, there were also similarities; when he took on the management of Spring Plains Station GROOM was at the mercy of the same forces as he had been in New Zealand. Amongst this group of mid-nineteenth century middle-class Tasmanians, Thomas GROOM's Tasmania-Victoria-New Zealand experience was also not an unusual one.

### The three-way interchange

It will have become apparent that the movements of many Tasmanians who went to New Zealand also include sojourns or eventual resettlement in other Australian colonies. Broadening this investigation to include all of the Australian mainland colonies is beyond the scope of this research. However, for the purposes of this project and where Tasmanians are concerned, Victoria must be included here as a special case within the Tasmania-New Zealand interchange. The Victorian connection does not follow a standard trajectory. Some Tasman-crossers had their Victorian experience first, then returned home to Tasmania before finally leaving for New Zealand. Others left Tasmania for Victoria and went on to New Zealand direct from that colony, and there were yet others who moved on to Victoria after a sojourn in New Zealand.

For mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians their individual interchanges with New Zealand were a three-way affair. For many reasons, geographic, economic, and personal, Victoria was the other part of this equation:

On a tour of Van Diemen's Land in late 1835, the Reverend John Dunmore Lang reported that he "found almost every respectable person I met with preparing, either individually, or in the person of some near relation or confidential agent, to occupy the Australian El Dorado".<sup>929</sup>

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<sup>929</sup> WJ Lines, *Taming the Great South Land: A History of the Conquest of Nature in Australia*, (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1991), p. 73, cited in J Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011), p. 121.



This boom mentality which Belich describes as ‘a contagion’ was, according to one bystander, still very much in evidence twelve years later:<sup>930</sup>

When I first visited Melbourne in 1847, there was going on a general flitting of Tasmanian settlers across the straits, to take up runs lying invitingly open in the colony of Port Phillip, as Victoria was then called, and these early squatters and settlers soon reaped a harvest that a long life spent in sowing in the old colony of Van Diemen’s Land would not have yielded.<sup>931</sup>



**Figure 12:** Note the map of Tasmania on the left hand wall of this early Victorian dwelling. Emma VON STIEGLITZ, *Interior of a Squatter's Hut at Port Phillip*, 1841. (QVM2003.FD.0008, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery)

As the preceding quotations demonstrate, the Tasmania-New Zealand interchange with Victoria predated the start of that colony's gold rush. The original Tasmanian push into Victoria was one of private adventurers focussed on the acquisition of the vast tracts of land which were not available in their

<sup>930</sup> J Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 359.

<sup>931</sup> A Cox, *Recollections: Australia, England, Ireland, Scotland, New Zealand*, (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1884), p. 58. Alfred Cox, a NSW-New Zealand settler, was closely related to the Cox's of Clarendon in Tasmania though he did not record visiting that colony.

home colony.<sup>932</sup> This story of Victoria is fully expounded by Boyce in his 1835: *The Founding of Melbourne* and was essentially a push from the gentry end of the Tasmanian middle class.<sup>933</sup>

In a very practical sense, might was right. Young men increasingly represented their powerful families on the ground in Port Phillip, backed up by seasoned overseers and managers.<sup>934</sup>

This was not only a feature of the Tasmanian move into Victoria. Two decades later family backing, formal partnerships and the exportation of experienced workers, again supported many Tasmanians in their quest for pastoral leases in New Zealand. A great many of these young Tasmanian pastoralists also had a direct Victorian connection of one kind or another. For example, William St Paul Gellibrand was the son of Joseph Tice Gellibrand, a Hobart lawyer and the first Attorney-General of Van Diemen's Land. Gellibrand senior was also important to the early history of Victoria as the author of the legal document by which the Port Phillip Association acquired Melbourne.<sup>935</sup> In New Zealand his son was in partnership with James 'Darky' SMITH and George William Pogson. This partnership was a family affair, cemented by more than one marriage including James SMITH's wedding to Sophia Gellibrand in Hobart in 1854.<sup>936</sup> In addition, Sinclair states that Pogson's brother-in-law, WM Bethune, 'and many of the other employees had come over from Tasmania to work for Gellibrand and Coy' mirroring the same *modus operandi* that had been used in the earlier

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<sup>932</sup> Governor 'Arthur was refreshingly frank about the settlers' motive: "it is better for all parties to be sincere and plainly state that the occupation of a good run for sheep has been the primary consideration, if not the only one". Arthur to Bourke, 6 October 1836, HRV 1: 60-1, cited in J Boyce, 1835: *The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011), p. 148.

<sup>933</sup> Though as Boyce points out, also with the aid of an experienced and largely ex-convict workforce.

<sup>934</sup> EM Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, (Sydney, George Robertson, 1883; facsimile edition, State Library of South Australia, 1968), p. 3, cited in J Boyce, 1835: *The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011), p. 154.

<sup>935</sup> PL Brown (ed.), *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 93.

<sup>936</sup> Marriage notice. *Hobart Town Courier*, 11 May 1854. Pogson's mother was also Eliza Tice Gellibrand who married George Thomas Pogson in 1840 (*Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1840 872/37) and who, as a widow (GT Pogson died in 1855: *Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Death 1855 1763/35) then married William Kerr Dixon in 1859 (*Tasmanian Pioneer Index*, Marriage 1859 199/37); perhaps an as yet undetermined link to the Tasmania-New Zealand family of Dorothea Kerr (née Dixon) with whom Eliza Adams stayed in Dunedin.

Tasmanian settlement of Victoria.<sup>937</sup> By 1871 the joint Gellibrand, SMITH and Pogson holdings in New Zealand carried 45,603 sheep and during that decade their several New Zealand runs shipped one thousand bales of wool annually through Dunedin in the South and Tauranga in the North Island.<sup>938</sup>

In terms of their quasi-gentry credentials, SMITH was the son of a London-West Indies merchant who arrived in Van Diemen's Land with his young family in 1826 and took up land at Campania.<sup>939</sup> James was also the younger and apparently more 'easy-going' brother of a Premier and Chief Justice of Tasmania, Sir Francis SMITH.<sup>940</sup> James SMITH also had his own Tasmania-Victoria-New Zealand connections. By 1863 when *Walch's Tasmanian Almanack* [sic] listed him as absent from Tasmania, SMITH was already, at 42, older than the other Tasmanian lawyers who opted to cross to New Zealand at that time.<sup>941</sup> SMITH had, however, effectively left Tasmania over ten years before. In May 1850, when he was robbed at gunpoint *en route* to his father's property, the *Colonial Times* reported that he was carrying letters 'addressed to gentlemen in Port Phillip' and about to board the *Shamrock* for Melbourne.<sup>942</sup> There James SMITH formed a legal partnership with Robert Willan. When he moved on to New Zealand in 1863, as the Bank of Otago's 'Solicitor in Dunedin', James SMITH still maintained his Melbourne connection.<sup>943</sup> The firm of SMITH and Willan was not formally dissolved until 1869.<sup>944</sup>

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<sup>937</sup> JG Sinclair, *Who Was Who in Otago among the Run Holders, Club Members, Company Promoters up until about 1880* (ms.), 2003, p. 87.

<sup>938</sup> JG Sinclair, *Who Was Who in Otago among the Run Holders, Club Members, Company Promoters up until about 1880* (ms.), 2003, p. 38.

<sup>939</sup> JM Bennett and FC Green, 'Smith, Sir Francis Villeneuve (1819-1909)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.online.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au)

<sup>940</sup> E Meredith, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896, p. 7. For Sir Francis Smith see, FC Green (ed.), *Tasmania: A Century of Responsible Government 1856-1956*, (Hobart, Government Printer, 1956), p. 121.

<sup>941</sup> *Walch's Tasmanian Almanack* [sic] and *Guide to Tasmania for 1863*, p. 41.

<sup>942</sup> Smith's obituary implied 1849. Obituary. *Otago Witness*, 13 January 1904, p. 9.

Demonstrating his skill as a barrister, James Smith told the perpetrators that the letters 'might, if retained, lead to the detection of the parties, [so] they were thrown back in an insulting way'. *Colonial Times*, 14 May 1850, p. 2.

<sup>943</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 7 November 1863, p. 4. Smith possibly first went to Dunedin earlier. There was a James Smith travelling cabin on the *Pirate* (Captain Robertson) from Melbourne to Dunedin in August 1861. [www.yesteryears.co.nz/shipping/passlists/pirate](http://www.yesteryears.co.nz/shipping/passlists/pirate)

<sup>944</sup> *Argus*, 9 April 1869, p. 3.

There were also obviously some Tasmanian entrepreneurs without a direct Victorian experience. For one reason or another they had not been in a position to take advantage of the opening up of that colony in the 1830s and early 1840s, but it is clear that they would have done so had circumstances allowed. By the 1850s they had seen and heard enough about Victoria to appreciate the opportunity offered by New Zealand as well as understanding the practicalities required. Alexander CLERKE (chapter 3) had arrived in Tasmania to begin farming during the 1820s when Tasmania itself was still in the process of being settled. The BUTTON *patresfamilias* (chapter 4) disembarked from England in the 1830s and were quick to establish businesses in Launceston (tanning) and Longford (brewing).<sup>945</sup> Henry CLAYTON had arrived in Tasmania even earlier (chapter 2). His experiences of breaking in new ground were twofold, firstly on Norfolk Island and secondly in Tasmania.<sup>946</sup> All these men, as for virtually all the fathers of the younger men who went to New Zealand, had had a front row seat to the opening up of Victoria by their fellow Tasmanians and the rapid growth that followed.<sup>947</sup> From the Tasmanian side of Bass Strait they had watched the 1830s land grab as the first-comers were first served, followed by the Victorian gold rush in the early 1850s.<sup>948</sup> By 1857 when town blocks were offered for sale in Invercargill such men would have held the same great hopes for Southland.

Where these Tasmanians were concerned, the Victorian gold rush should not be given greater importance than it deserves. As Belich points out 'settlement booms were well established' in this part of the world before the gold rushes began. Tasmanians enjoyed their land grab boom in Victoria for twenty years

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<sup>945</sup> H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of Life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993).

<sup>946</sup> HB Holmes (compiler), *The Claytons of Wickford* (ms), p. 2 in Archives Office of Tasmania correspondence file (Clayton), TAHO.

<sup>947</sup> 'From 1837 to 1842 the European population of Port Phillip swelled from about one thousand to twenty thousand, but even more dramatic was the increase in stock and the enlargement of territory. Official estimates of sheep numbers rose from 26,000 in June 1836 to 310,000 in September 1838 and 700,000 in 1840. This number doubled again by 1842, by which time half of the Port Phillip District (all the best grasslands) was occupied and the region was producing as much wool as the rest of New South Wales combined.' J Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011), p. 151.

<sup>948</sup> Note, Tasmanians had previously also sent men and speculative cargoes to the Californian gold rush. P Bolger, *Hobart Town*, (Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1973), p. 69.

before gold was discovered there. In New Zealand the population of the South Island had already quadrupled between 1851-1860 (from 10,000 to 40,000) before the first major gold rush in 1861.<sup>949</sup> The Tasmanian psyche was therefore already wired to accept the challenge of a New Zealand land grab and the establishment of new 'frontier' towns, regardless of any likelihood of future gold.

Once gold had been found in Victoria, it is of interest that this rush also encouraged a different wave of gold seekers to cross Bass Strait – the middle-class Tasmanian miner-sojourner.<sup>950</sup> The adventures of these Victorian goldfield sojourners demonstrated to other younger Tasmanians that it was possible to travel to a neighbouring colony yet still be able to return home at will – a feature of the Tasmanian move into New Zealand during the following decade. Henry BUTTON was one such middle-class sojourner to Victoria. Although already engaged to be married, he gave up his job in a fit of pique and set off from Launceston in January 1852. BUTTON was accompanied by his brother, Fred, and a party of men employed by their father so 'that I might "try my luck" at gold mining'.<sup>951</sup> This was totally in the spirit of a temporary enterprise and after very little real digging, he was home again barely a month later:

I returned to Launceston ... a poorer, if a wiser, man than when I started. Most of my small savings had been lost, the post I had vacated was filled ... and the prospect of an early marriage, which had been one of the factors in my unfortunate experiment, seemed to have been set back indefinitely. Yet I did not despair. I was young, strong, had learnt a trade, and had some claim to be regarded as an efficient reporter, and it was not likely that I should weakly succumb.<sup>952</sup>

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<sup>949</sup> J Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 309, and p. 311.

<sup>950</sup> A phenomenon also noted in, P Bolger, *Hobart Town*, (Canberra, ANU Press, 1973), p. 69.

<sup>951</sup> H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of Life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993), p. 192.

<sup>952</sup> H Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam: Floating Fragments of Life in England and Tasmania*, (Tasmania, 1909; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, 1993), p. 196.

Henry and Fred BUTTON did not go on to establish themselves in New Zealand but their younger brother and older cousin both did, and this family experience would have influenced their decisions. Both Charles Edward and Charles Stammers BUTTON went to New Zealand after the discovery of gold, yet they went as a lawyer and a businessman respectively. While they profited from the gold mining *milieu* in which they found themselves, neither of them made any attempt to actually grub for gold. George Stanton Crouch was another young Tasmanian who did not last the distance on Victoria's goldfields. He held only one mining licence, for the month of May 1852. When he became ill Crouch returned to Melbourne and lay at Death's door in a hotel room until his mother arrived from Hobart to nurse him. The following year Crouch returned to Melbourne, but this time it was to help his brother erect cottages on some land there in which the latter had invested. Subsequently Crouch spent nine years farming in Tasmania before moving on to Invercargill in 1863, to take up a position he had negotiated prior to leaving his home colony.<sup>953</sup>

There are many more examples of young middle-class Tasmania-Victoria sojourners who were in a position to have informed and influenced the young professionals who went to New Zealand in the early 1860s. Even though the three lawyer brothers, William, Harry, and Albert PITT, all chose to go to New Zealand and not Victoria, William's brother-in-law had first-hand experience of the Victorian goldfields. PITT's father-in-law, William Gore Elliston, recorded in his diary that his son (also William) left Tasmania for Port Phillip late in December 1851 and returned two months later 'little the worse for his trip in person, and something richer in pocket'.<sup>954</sup> Other young men, such as Eugene BELLAIRS and Caleb WHITEFOORD, also went to New Zealand after non-mining stints on the Victorian goldfields (as a surveyor and mounted policeman respectively). Not one of these people subsequently went to New Zealand to dig. This was undoubtedly because their collective experience of the Victorian gold rush had largely dissuaded the Tasmanian middle class from attempting this line of business in New Zealand.

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<sup>953</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), pp. 13-17.

<sup>954</sup> William Elliston junior returned with over 32 oz in gold which produced £103.5s.0d. Entries for 24 December 1851, and 9 March 1852. 'Diary of William Gore Elliston' (1829-1864), transcript in Archives Office of Tasmania correspondence file (Elliston), TAHO.

It is worth noting that the strong influence of Victoria on the New Zealand gold rushes was not limited to personnel.<sup>955</sup> The presence of Victoria was felt by New Zealanders in general, with a certain level of paranoia present in such 1863 statements as 'Melbourne desires to retain Otago as a mere outport of Victoria'.<sup>956</sup> These concerns were not confined to Otago:

Some straggling miner will sooner or later find payable gold, and before the people of Canterbury have had time to breathe and consider what is to be done, Melbourne people will have founded towns, and Melbourne merchants, and Melbourne capitalists, reap all the advantages. Richard Sherrin, 1863.<sup>957</sup>

The strong presence of Victorians (many of whom would have had Tasmanian connections) in the South Island's business affairs was very real during the 1860s and is borne out by May's figures that 'the value of Australian imports increased twelve-fold while those from the United Kingdom increased roughly five-and-a-half times' during 1861-1863.<sup>958</sup> Blainey speaks of Melbourne's close links to Dunedin which continued into the late nineteenth century.<sup>959</sup> Victoria also provided the necessary trade and investment for new gold areas such as New Zealand's West Coast, so long as it remained more economic to keep up the sea trade with Melbourne than with New Zealand's northern ports.<sup>960</sup>

The opening up of Victoria had provided Van Diemen's Land with a market well before the 1850s gold rush caused the population of Victoria to grow rapidly. Tasmania's early trade with Victoria extended even to the exporting of Tasmanian hardwood frames and buildings. John 'Batman's own house was brought over [to Melbourne] in prefabricated form from Van Diemen's Land'.<sup>961</sup>

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<sup>955</sup> PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), p. 462.

<sup>956</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 20 May 1863, p. 5.

<sup>957</sup> PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), p. 459.

<sup>958</sup> PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), p. 463.

<sup>959</sup> G Blainey, *Our Side of the Country: The Story of Victoria*, (Sydney, Methuen Haynes, 1984), p. 73.

<sup>960</sup> It was during this period that New Zealand's South eclipsed the North Island and Dunedin became the country's commercial hub, which would also have influenced such decisions.

<sup>961</sup> J Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011), p. 96.

In New Zealand's south the same exports were again on the manifest. Charles Stammers BUTTON was one who found an outlet there for his firm's Launceston timber yard:

I erected a wooden house which I had brought over, on a piece of ground which I leased and commenced selling my goods. The vessel returned to L'ton and after awhile returned with another load, with a wooden store ready for erection, also a brewery, & various articles of plant for it. Some workmen also came with the goods, and I soon commenced the erection of the buildings.<sup>962</sup>

Separate to any previous experience of having spent time in Victoria, virtually all of these 86 middle-class Tasmanians who went to New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century had some direct knowledge of Victoria by virtue of passing through the port of Melbourne. A Melbourne departure point generally meant a safer and more comfortable voyage on a steamer, as well as a chance to catch up with old Tasmanian friends. In 1865 Eliza ADAMS did just that, staying with the ex-Launceston family of William and Charlotte CLEVELAND, where:

The weather was so bad that I was only able to go to Melbourne once while I was at St. Kilda & then Mr. Cleveland gave up an afternoon from his business to show me all the wonders of the great city.<sup>963</sup>

Of these 86 people exactly half are also known to have had a close family link to Victoria, and this percentage rises when the extra families are factored in from the full collection of correspondence retained by Kate CLERKE. Some New Zealand migrants, such as the surveyor Eugene BELLAIRS and the agent for the early Dalgety company, Charles Nichols, first travelled from Victoria to Tasmania before going on to New Zealand.<sup>964</sup> While in Tasmania each of these

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<sup>962</sup> CS Button, 'Notes on my life' (ms), 1896, QVMAG, CHS3, 4/13, p. 75 (note the page number 75 has been used twice).

<sup>963</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 30 May [1865], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42. This given as the reason why Eliza had had no opportunity to shop for a new hat in Melbourne, for which Kate had provided the money.

<sup>964</sup> Regarding the Nichols family see also, F Rigney, *A Midlands Odyssey: A Journey Through Parts of the Northern Midlands of Tasmania*, (Launceston, [self-published], 2008), p. 79.



young men married a Tasmanian bride and thereby increased the percentage further, through their close associations to families also known to, and related to, the friends of Eliza ADAMS and Kate CLERKE, many of whom had their own family links to Victoria.

Eighteen individuals, or almost 20% of this sample, did not go direct to New Zealand after leaving Tasmania but travelled first to Victoria. All of these men were from the young professionals group though there are examples from the pastoral group in the wider correspondence in the Weston Collection such as the eventual New Zealand farmers Thomas Tayspill Dowling and the three Wood brothers.<sup>965</sup>

In the professional group Charles ADAMS, for example, received his early training in the Victorian Survey Department and only moved on to New Zealand after gold was found there.<sup>966</sup> Caleb WHITEFOORD followed a similar trajectory. He was possibly only fifteen when he left Launceston with his 'liberal and practical education' and took up the opportunity offered by the Victorian government to join 'the Mounted Police Force of that Colony as a cadet about the year 1854'.<sup>967</sup> He did well there and it was only government retrenchment in Victoria which caused him to look to New Zealand in 1867:

The West Coast goldfields were in need of a suitable Warden, it was little to be wondered at that Mr Whitefoord, who already had a favourable record as a man of mature judgement, should be offered the position.<sup>968</sup>

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<sup>965</sup> Dowling's 1864 Victorian sojourn was memorable. He assisted his brother, John, in thwarting an armed bank robbery in Fitzroy and was shot 'though but slightly injured'. The pair were 'handsomely rewarded by the bank'. *Timaru Herald*, 9 July 1864, p. 2; see also, Obituary. *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 June 1920, p. 5. Note that this act of bravery was reported in New Zealand papers, possibly because Dowling's uncle, Benjamin, was already well-known there. He was the inaugural honorary secretary of the Canterbury Pastoral Association (*Lyttelton Times*, 22 August 1860, p. 3).

<sup>966</sup> *Marlborough Express*, 2 June 1904, p. 2.

<sup>967</sup> Regarding his age, this depends on the plaque on his coffin being correct. *Star*, 16 February 1891, p. 4. Whitefoord is stated elsewhere to have been born in 1838 (*Evening Post*, 13 February 1891, p. 2).

<sup>968</sup> Obituary. *Star*, 13 February 1891, p. 3.

Both Charles ADAMS and Caleb WHITEFOORD therefore add fuel to the view commonly held in New Zealand, that it was Victorian experience which proved the most useful and important to the progress of the South Island and, in particular, Victorian goldfields experience. The value of Victorian gold miners and the 'decade or more of experience' they brought with them to New Zealand is outlined in May's *West Coast Gold Rushes*.<sup>969</sup> This view is consistent throughout New Zealand writing on the gold rushes.<sup>970</sup> May, in his chapter on the Australian goldfields, wrote about gold diggers and trade but not about a corresponding influx of middle-class Australians.<sup>971</sup> The inference was that gold miners thereafter became the South Island's middle class, once they had decided to stay and follow other business pursuits.

May also states that the 'West Coast community lacked the defined group of cultured middle-class families who set the social tone and provided the political leadership in the Wakefield colonies'.<sup>972</sup> This is not borne out by newspaper articles nor by the descriptions of Greymouth found in reminiscences, such as those of Jane Perkins, wife of the ex-Hobartian lawyer William Watchorn Perkins. Perkins described her early 1870s social circle as consisting chiefly of 'Banker's wives sisters, clerks, etc'.<sup>973</sup> It also included a fair sprinkling of legal practitioners, many of whom took on public office and other community responsibilities (such as Charles Edward BUTTON who was Mayor of Hokitika and stood for provincial elections, and Caleb WHITEFOORD whose obituary listed a lifetime of community service).<sup>974</sup> These people set a social tone which was predicated solely on the social *mores* they brought with them from Tasmania and their professional endeavours in New Zealand. It had nothing to

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<sup>969</sup> PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), p. 238.

<sup>970</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 6. Also, 'The gold rushes of the 1860s brought a further flow of ideas, carried in by Australians and some Americans. Mining techniques employed in New Zealand had been well tested in California and Victoria'. A Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand: a historical geography*, (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 1994), p. 35.

<sup>971</sup> PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), chapter 17.

<sup>972</sup> PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), p. 273.

<sup>973</sup> JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925, pp. 4-5.

<sup>974</sup> Obituary. *Star*, 13 February 1891, p. 3.

do with them having improved their social status after their arrival in New Zealand nor anything to do with the actual mechanics of mining.

To complete the cycle of the perennial interchange, some mention must also be made of those ex-Tasmanian-New Zealanders who then moved on to Victoria at the end of their New Zealand sojourn. These latter-day Victorians can be found at both extremes of the Tasmanian middle class and similarly among the pastoralists as well as the professionals. Of the seven Tasmanians known to have gone to Victoria after time spent in New Zealand, the majority took the opportunity to return again to New Zealand. Thomas and Annie GROOM (*née Wood*) returned to New Zealand only temporarily, but Eliza ADAMS' brother, Henry, returned permanently to farm at South Wyndham, as did Edward and Fanny Jane Morrah (*née WESTON*) who travelled back to Wellington under the *aegis* of bank employment.

Only two of the 86 Tasmanians from the primary research group remained permanently in Victoria after returning from New Zealand. They were the older Dr Cornelius Gavin CASEY who in 1863 had been less than impressed by Dunedin (chapter 4) and James CROCKER.

The CROCKER family experience of New Zealand was not as universally happy as they had at first hoped. James' older brother, Charles Munro CROCKER, suffered difficult times in his construction business, appearing in the *Hawera and Normanby Star* during the early 1880s almost exclusively on tender lists for erecting buildings of one type or another (and often it was CROCKER's tender which was declined). In June 1884 he advertised his Hawera house for sale.<sup>975</sup> By the end of that year he had moved to Auckland where he tendered to erect shops on the Karangahape Road; there he was also unsuccessful.<sup>976</sup> His younger brother, James CROCKER, was a linen draper and similarly failed in business during the 1880s, admittedly at a time of many business failures in New Zealand. By 1883 James was a Christchurch

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<sup>975</sup> Advertisement. *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 7 June 1884, p. 3.

<sup>976</sup> *Auckland Star*, 10 December 1884, p. 2. Charles Crocker died in New Zealand in 1886 at the age of 52 (New Zealand Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1886/4134).

bankrupt.<sup>977</sup> By 1891 he and his New Zealand-born wife were in Victoria where he was a soft goods warehouseman and she a milliner and dressmaker. That year Annie Morrison CROCKER sued for divorce 'on account of his habitual drunkenness and failure to provide her with the means of support'.<sup>978</sup> James Munro CROCKER died in Victoria in 1904 neither a success in New Zealand nor in Victoria.<sup>979</sup>

One small example of the continuing Tasmanian connection with both Victoria and New Zealand can be gleaned from the Hobart Assessment Rolls of 1875.<sup>980</sup> In these rolls some absent property owners were simply marked as 'out of colony' while others have their non-Tasmanian abode recorded. Of those whose location is identified, by far the majority of these absentee landlords had moved to either Victoria or New Zealand.

Victoria eventually came full circle itself, from a potential *El Dorado* to an alternative outpost tainted by the whiff of disappointment and failure, before the pendulum swung back again. Arnold's analysis of the 1890s and the early twentieth century continued to stress the reciprocation inherent in his perennial interchange, with his contention that in the 1880s and 1890s 'it seems that what New Zealand provided to Melbourne for her [later] boom was seasoned colonials with a wide range of labouring, craft, commercial, and professional skills'.<sup>981</sup> While Victoria was not the only recipient of New Zealanders flooding into Australia in the 1890s, it is the focus here as an example that the perennial interchange remained a vital force well into the twentieth century.

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<sup>977</sup> Advertisement. *Press*, 1 June 1883, p. 1.

<sup>978</sup> *Press*, 16 December 1891, p. 5.

<sup>979</sup> Victoria Births Deaths Marriages, Death 1904/678.

<sup>980</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette Extraordinary*, 1 January 1875, pp. 1-83.

<sup>981</sup> R Arnold, Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, pp. 15-16.

## CHAPTER 8

### Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is threefold. Firstly it seeks to bring to the notice of scholars the individual stories of a group of Tasmanians who moved to New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century and to give these newly contextualised histories a prominence that they have never previously enjoyed. The second aim is to use family history sources and methodology to determine patterns within the activities of this group of people. Thirdly, it seeks to test the hypotheses of Rollo Arnold regarding late nineteenth and early twentieth century Australia-New Zealand migration in relation to mid-nineteenth century middle-class Tasmanians.

This project was approached with no preconceived ideas as to the mid-nineteenth century middle-class Tasmanian experience of migrating to New Zealand. However, it soon became clear that certain aspects of this cross-Tasman movement stood out. Patterns emerged from within this relatively narrow group despite its focus on one class of people over a relatively short period of time. The greater part of this chapter will be divided into three sections: conclusions relating to the nature or attributes of those middle-class Tasmanians who went to New Zealand, the results of assessing their possible motives in crossing the Tasman Sea, followed by new interpretations relating to this migration.

There will follow a short reference back to the legacy of Rollo Arnold, in particular to outline any of Arnold's concepts which may not be as applicable to the middle-class Tasmanian focus of this research. The chapter will conclude by referring briefly to the positive outcomes of using family history resources and methodology for a research project such as this.

### The nature of those middle-class Tasmanians who went to New Zealand

This research group of mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians is entirely middle class. They acquired this status through birth and education and it was reinforced by their subsequent activities.<sup>982</sup> They were also middle-class by virtue of the stress they placed on maintaining their self-definition as ladies and gentlemen. They were predominantly English in background; that is, Anglican and if not born in England themselves, then were born of English or Anglo-Irish parents.<sup>983</sup>

What was not recognised until this research was underway was that the middle-class people who appear in the letters of Eliza ADAMS divide neatly into two distinct groups. These were the upper end of the middle class, the quasi-gentry who were also often successful land owners and investors like the CLERKE family, and the lower end of the middle class. The lower end comprised those people who were generally less well off, or unsuccessful in some way such as the ADAMS family. While none of these people could be classed as 'idle rich' and all of them expected to work, this second group did not possess land or capital to ease their path. These young men had to make their own way in the world and on the whole they used their middle-class educations to move into the professions.

There is also a chronological division within this middle-class group that went to New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century. The first group crossed the Tasman Sea during the 1850s, before the gold rushes. The second group left Tasmania after the start of the South Island gold rushes, that is after 1861. In terms of the Tasmanian middle class the 1850s movement into New Zealand

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<sup>982</sup> As a middle-class ex-convict wrote regarding her brother's children in Tasmania, 'I hope they give their mind to learning for an education grounded on moral principles is the best gift a parent can give their children'. Isabella Phillips to Edward Arnett, 10 May 1857, cited in A Hoddinott, "Over the Water, Over the Sea ...", *The Story of the Arnett Family, Convicted of Coining and Transported from Liverpool to Australia in 1837*, *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 60, no. 3, December 2013, p. 150.

<sup>983</sup> While there are few Tasmanians of obvious Scots birth or descent amongst this primary research sample (only members of the Douglas and Harrison families) Scots can also be found on the periphery of this group (for example, the Stronach brothers). The extent of Australian Scottish movement to New Zealand is discussed in, B Patterson, T Brooking, and J McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand*, (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2014), p.70.

was primarily one of investment. Investors also acted as catalysts for the movement of the younger sons of Tasmanian landowners. These investors were pastoral in focus, such as the already wealthy Robert Quayle Kermode who leased large tracts of land in Canterbury, though other Tasmanian landowners such as Henry CLAYTON and Alexander CLERKE also saw the value of diversifying into trading as town blocks and markets followed the opening up of land in Otago and Southland. This earlier investment did not stop with the gold rushes but continued in tandem as the second group began arriving. The second tide of Tasmanian middle class movement was directly connected to the New Zealand gold rushes, although it was never a movement of miners. Instead it consisted of young professional men, in many cases accompanied or followed by other members of their family, who took advantage of the establishment of new settlements and the needs that they created. Among this research group these young men were predominantly lawyers, surveyors and bankers.

Tasmania at this time had only just become free in its political institutions and was no longer a British-run penal settlement. While the occasional ex-convict has been mentioned in the body of this work, no members of this research group were thus tainted: they had migrated voluntarily to Van Diemen's Land or were born of parents who had 'arrived free'. The whole question of how the convict experience may have affected the lives of middle-class Tasmanians is an interesting one, especially as many New Zealand writers have implied that a convict past was a strong reason for Australian colonials to want to leave.<sup>984</sup>

New Zealand's early concern with the detrimental effects of disaffected convicts landing on its shores, coupled with the reaction generated by the short-lived but sharply felt threat of becoming another British penal settlement themselves, remain valid within the historiography of the early colonial period. However the continuing acute awareness of Australia's convict past beyond the mid-nineteenth century, especially as reiterated in the New Zealand press, should

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<sup>984</sup> For example, M Wright, *Convicts: New Zealand's Hidden Criminal Past*, (Auckland, Penguin, 2012), p. 10. Also for many of Belich's 'Tasmen': J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), pp. 132-133.

be revisited. It can no longer be accepted as the everyday reality for middle-class Tasmanians in New Zealand and perhaps the same should also apply to Australians as a whole. Occasional gibes may have had to be borne but, at least for these middle class Tasmanians in New Zealand, convictism was not an issue. It had never been their world view, even while they lived amongst it in Tasmania. While the colonial world of the Antipodes was not likely to forget what had made Tasmania a British outpost in the first place, this research has shown that for a respectable middle-class Tasmanian his colony of origin did not make him a social outcast in New Zealand. Indeed, even for middle-class ex-convicts a past in the penal system was no longer a social problem by the mid-1850s – neither in Tasmania nor in New Zealand.

Instead middle-class Tasmanians could feel proud of their Tasmanian upbringing. Charles ADAMS was proud of the superior grounding in mathematics that he had received at the Campbell Town Grammar School.<sup>985</sup> His Tasmanian education had assisted him in rising to a senior position as a government surveyor in New Zealand and to his equally important reputation as an amateur astronomer (chapter 3). Edwin Meredith was likewise proud of the achievements of his parents as free pioneers on Tasmania's East Coast, which is possibly why he felt it important to *stress* his own role as a pioneer in New Zealand.<sup>986</sup> Such statements constituted a pride in oneself and one's family and were personal and idiosyncratic. They indicate that middle-class Tasmanians had grown up with a sense of self-worth unsullied by the penal past.

One of the attributes that both ADAMS and Meredith had in common was that they had been born in Tasmania. In fact, eighty per cent of this research group of Tasman-crossers were native-born or had arrived in Tasmania before the age of ten. These latter are counted as though they were native-born because their formative years would have been spent in the colonial *milieu*, enjoying wholly colonial experiences. This is a much higher figure than was originally expected, making the presence in New Zealand of these native-born colonials one of the most important findings of this research. This is also a much larger

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<sup>985</sup> *Marlborough Express*, 2 June 1904, p. 2.

<sup>986</sup> E Meredith, 'Edwin Meredith's Memoirs' (ms), 1896.



proportion than the prevailing belief in New Zealand that overall the majority of Australians crossing the Tasman during the mid-nineteenth century were born in Britain or Europe.<sup>987</sup> The presence of a significant number of native-born Tasmanians also goes some way to explaining their invisibility and their high success rate within New Zealand society. They were already 'colonial' with similar experiences on large agricultural properties or else from the same small town ethos that they were to rediscover in the South Island.

The numbers of native-born Tasmanians crossing the Tasman Sea remained high throughout the 1855-1875 period of this research, regardless of whether they were from the pre-gold rush entrepreneurs or the post-1861 young professionals. Tasmania had, after all, been settled at the very beginning of the nineteenth century and had had fifty years in which to produce a wealth of native-born sons and daughters. These particular young middle-class colonials, from a marginally older British settlement and only the width of 'The Ditch' away, were undeniably valuable to the development of New Zealand's social and political infrastructure; while their numbers may have been relatively small in comparison, their value as future citizens was much greater. Young Tasmanians had enjoyed wholly colonial life experiences which would also have provided them with an instant rapport with the native-born sons and daughters of New Zealand. It is interesting that one of the few times a Tasmanian is known to have used the term 'new chum' in New Zealand it was used to denote other Australians, that is, Australians who were not Tasmanians.<sup>988</sup>

In fact the whole question of one's identity to place is an important one for the Antipodes in the nineteenth century. It is anachronistic to equate this with any modern understanding of 'national' identity and is not a question that can be

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<sup>987</sup> For example, R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler), *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983), p. 70. Also, J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 316.

<sup>988</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69: An early account of Southland's people, settlements and landscape, by "A. Tasmanian"*, (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010), p. 49.

answered here. This research follows but one group out of the many Australian colonials who crossed the Tasman at a time when these people did not think of themselves as 'Australian'. Certainly there is no evidence that these middle-class Tasmanians ever referred to themselves as such. Instead the descriptor 'Tasmanian' is used for one of their own in New Zealand.<sup>989</sup> The findings of this research indicate that the importance of the colonially native-born, however they referred to themselves, must in future receive greater prominence in the writing of migration history between Australia and New Zealand during the nineteenth century.

### Motivations for crossing the Tasman Sea

Three motivations for middle-class Tasmanian movement to New Zealand have become apparent during the course of this research. The first was the economic situation in Tasmania at the time, coupled with the occupational opportunities inherent in a move to New Zealand. The second and third motivations are particular to this research. They comprise the possibility that unmarried Tasmanian women might improve their marital status in New Zealand, followed by the effect of Victoria on the way in which Tasmanians might view a neighbouring colony.

Unfortunately for the younger sons of the Tasmanian middle class who came of age during the period 1855-1875, Tasmania was in depression. This depression started in the late 1850s and lasted almost twenty years.<sup>990</sup> It translated into little or no prospects for the younger sons of the less successful Tasmanian pastoral families, such as Thomas Francis GROOM. For the young professionals it similarly meant a lack of positions available in one's field, such as the dearth of positions for the many Tasmanian lawyers newly admitted to the bar in the early 1860s. At the same time New Zealand was primed for development, firstly by the opening up of vast pastoral leases and town blocks in the south, and then by the gold rushes of the 1860s. Any decision to move across the Tasman predicated on these events was to be expected. Faced with

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<sup>989</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Weston, 3 March 1866, QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

<sup>990</sup> B Meikle, 'Hard Times in the Golden Age: The Long Depression of Tasmania, 1857-1875', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, v. 15, 2010, p. 39.

these developments Tasmanians behaved no differently to any other group of people in the same situation.

On the individual level there were many personal events within this middle-class group which also made it desirable to move. For example, some moves were obviously prompted by the death or debility of a father and the subsequent loss of patrimony for the whole family. A move might also include the family business approach of the CLERKES and the CLAYTONS, the CROCKERS and the Rowntrees, where the patriarch provided the capital and the sons followed a plan largely already mapped out for them. Others might be assisted by a distant uncle or family friend, such as Robert Quayle Kermode or George Moore, who required the expertise of young men like Francis PITT and Thomas Tayspill Dowling to move their stock and manage their stations. These types of migration are not particularly unusual and New Zealand history also contains examples of similar family and friendship moves *via* the other Australian mainland colonies. These include the owners of large estates like 'Big' Clarke whose pastoral origins in Van Diemen's Land had shifted to Victoria by the time he acquired Moa Flat and Teviot stations in New Zealand.<sup>991</sup> Robert Tooth also, who sponsored the Tasmanian sons of The Right Reverend Francis NIXON from his property base in Queensland and New South Wales.<sup>992</sup>

What is different to migration from further afield is the regular to and fro movement of Tasmanian sisters. The proximity of New Zealand to Tasmania and the ease with which sisters could be moved about, coming and going as companions for married siblings and helpmeets for their children and as companions and housekeepers to brothers who otherwise migrated alone, must not be underestimated in this cross-Tasman story. As middle-class young ladies they helped augment the social cohesiveness of the middle class in new towns such as Greymouth.<sup>993</sup> Their very presence also helped their brothers (those who did not already have someone waiting for them in Tasmania) to

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<sup>991</sup> H Anderson, 'Clarke, William John Turner (1805-1874)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.anu.edu.au)

<sup>992</sup> GP Walsh, 'Tooth, Robert (1821-1893)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. [www.adb.anu.edu.au](http://www.adb.anu.edu.au)

<sup>993</sup> JE Perkins, 'Notes and Reminiscences of Her Life' (ms), 1925.

meet young ladies in New Zealand. As these sisters attended church and other social events they eased the way for their single brothers to meet similarly eligible young women.

The movement of unmarried sisters and daughters to New Zealand has not previously been considered by historians as one of the reasons why Australians might have chosen to leave their homeland. Nevertheless this was an important and valid reason for Tasmanian women to cross the Tasman during the mid-nineteenth century. This motivation may have been rarely articulated but that does not make it any less real. Eliza ADAMS and Fanny CLERKE hinted at it in their letters, and it was referred to more overtly in New Zealand letters of the period contained in *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies 1862-1882*.<sup>994</sup> As outlined in chapter 6 the ratio of men to women in Tasmania in the mid-nineteenth century was very much against all Tasmanian women being able to achieve marriage. If one had other disadvantages, such as a poor and unsuccessful father or socially unacceptable brothers, as did Eliza ADAMS, then one's chances were even slimmer. The importance to New Zealand of these middle-class women is another facet of the value of native-born Tasmanian colonials to the development of New Zealand middle-class life that cannot hereafter be ignored.

This thesis also posits that what possibly made the Tasmanian move to New Zealand different to other Australian movements was the presence of Victoria. By the mid-nineteenth century Victoria was well entrenched as a part of Tasmania's past as well being part of its immediate present. Whether other mainland colonies might have had a similar effect on the cross-Tasman movement of other Australians is beyond the boundaries of this research project.

This thesis argues that the Tasmanian experience of Victoria and Melbourne during the 1830s and 1840s predisposed the Tasmanian middle class to move into New Zealand's South Island when land was opened up there in the 1850s.

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<sup>994</sup> P Clarke, *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies 1862-1882*, (Melbourne, Hutchinson, 1985).

The initial founding of Melbourne and Victoria from Launceston and the subsequent land grab is well documented.<sup>995</sup> The sheer scale of such events in a small colony like Van Diemen's Land with its own limited land resources would have remained in the minds of Tasmanian entrepreneurs like CLAYTON, CLERKE, BUTTON *et al*, all of whom were present in Van Diemen's Land at the beginning of the push into Victoria. None of them were at that time in any position to take part, but the success of Victoria would have encouraged them to leap at any news of new land available in a neighbouring colony. As an example of this entrepreneurial ethos, Alexander CLERKE, after establishing a strong home base near Longford, and diversifying his investments on to Tasmania's North West Coast, then went to New Zealand, and within only a few years of establishing two sons in Invercargill was already planning to acquire property in Queensland.<sup>996</sup>

Not only was Victoria a land of opportunity for Tasmanians in terms of land, but in the 1850s it also became a gold rush destination and many a Tasmanian working man made his way there, along with a fair smattering of middle-class sojourners. Such activities meant that not only were Tasmanians cognisant of the benefits of investing in a new colony, many middle-class Tasmanians even had prior experience of a gold rush. Tasmanians were therefore primed and ready for both the 1850s move into Southland and the 1860s movement of young professionals into the new gold rush towns. In particular this meant that they did not go to New Zealand as diggers, but went instead as merchants and salaried professionals.

With Victoria geographically closer to Tasmania than New Zealand, Tasmanians saw this neighbouring colony as an alternative home to both Tasmania and New Zealand.<sup>997</sup> Some of these Tasmanians moved to New Zealand from Victoria. Others went to Victoria after a sojourn in New Zealand,

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<sup>995</sup> For example, J Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, (Melbourne, Black Inc., 2011).

<sup>996</sup> FG Clerke to Kate Clerke, 23 October [1862], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/48.

<sup>997</sup> Bass Strait is no barrier. Victoria is ever present to Tasmanians, especially during bush fire season when the smoke blows south across Tasmania's northern coast and into the city of Launceston.

though, interestingly, the majority then turned again to New Zealand. For these Tasmanians Victoria remained an acceptable alternative, a part of their mindset from the 1830s onwards.

The importance of Victoria within the Tasmania-New Zealand story must extend the idea of a perennial interchange beyond a simple two-way movement; this thesis argues instead that during the mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians enjoyed a three-way interchange, from Tasmania to Victoria to New Zealand and continuing on thereafter. In time this three-way interchange may go some way to personalising (and 'Tasmanianising' further) the history of Victoria's strong investment presence in New Zealand. In truth, the whole of the Australasian story regarding 'internal' migration needs further review in relation to how relevant the interchange theme might also prove for other colonies.

New Zealand historians have stressed in the past that their country owes a debt of gratitude to the prior experience of Victorian miners who brought their not inconsiderable skills to the development of New Zealand's goldfields.<sup>998</sup>

However there has been little discussion of the other skills brought to New Zealand by colonially-experienced non-mining Australians. This study of middle-class Tasmanians, over fifty percent of whom had Victorian experience or connections yet none of whom were miners, would indicate that a different debt of gratitude is due. This is one in which Victoria may still hold the greater part, such as in gold rush mining and engineering especially. Yet this should be tempered by the additional skills Victoria had earlier garnered from Tasmania – agricultural skills, mercantile and professional skills, social and political skills, and the gift of adaptability in the make-up of these largely native-born colonials.

### Interpretations relating to Tasmania-New Zealand 'migration'

This section discusses other issues raised during this research. These include the interconnectedness of Tasmanians in relation to the availability of

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<sup>998</sup> For example, PR May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, (Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1967), p. 238. See also, R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 6.

information about New Zealand during the early and mid-nineteenth century, networks of assistance or otherwise, and the issue of shifters and movers.

One of the tenets of this research is that Tasmanians have always enjoyed a large degree of interconnectedness. This is primarily predicated on family connections which are expected to be close in a relatively small island community. Coupled with this are the friendships formed through neighbourly proximity and shared experiences like religion, education and employment. All of these factors would have aided the dispersal of information about New Zealand throughout the colony, which would in turn have helped to inform decisions about whether or not to go there.

New Zealand was never an unknown quantity where Tasmanians were concerned. It was geographically close and during the early to mid-nineteenth century many Tasmanians returned from there with stories to tell. Those who chose to remain in New Zealand were able to write home with a regularity unavailable to Northern Hemisphere migrants.<sup>999</sup> Prior familiarity is an essential component for would-be migrants and acts as 'a strong lure to relocate'.<sup>1000</sup>

John Boulton, Philip PITT, Felix Wakefield, Eugene BELLAIRS, Edwin Meredith and the CLAYTON family are all pre-1850s examples of trans-Tasman voyagers who would have been known to the CLERKE and ADAMS families, their colleagues and friends. Prior to the gold rushes the information available to middle-class Tasmanians from their peers also goes some way towards explaining the higher incidence of Tasmanians attracted to the South Island and Southland in particular.

From the beginning Tasmanian newspapers also contributed fully to this pool of first-hand information. During the initial opening up of Southland in the 1850s

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<sup>999</sup> For example, Northern Tasmanians received the first news of the gold rush at Gabriel's Gully via a letter from a Tasmanian living in Dunedin, which was printed by the *Launceston Examiner* on 3 August 1861. R Kellaway, 'Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush 1861-1865', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, v. 46, no. 4, December 1999, p. 213.

<sup>1000</sup> GB Magee and AS Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 56.

their coverage was a little sparse (possibly because the *Southland Times* did not begin publication until 1862) but they soon caught up. As more Tasmanians moved to New Zealand Tasmania's papers printed copies of letters home, as well as full articles such as the 1869 series by 'A Tasmanian'.<sup>1001</sup> They also copied *verbatim* reports from New Zealand newspapers, especially as regarded every new gold rush, shipping, tariffs, politics and, of course, the progress of the New Zealand Land Wars, as well as the New Zealand obituaries of former Tasmanians. For example, Hobart's *Mercury* reprinted much of Albert PITT's obituary from the Christchurch *Press*, while adding their own information that not only was he a native son of Tasmania but also 'an old Hutchins School boy'.<sup>1002</sup>

Although this shared information is an indication of interconnectedness and although, in some circumstances, parents or siblings might follow an older brother to New Zealand, this middle-class experience was principally about individuals and individual families and not about group movements (as did occur among parties of gold rushers). There was also no collective Tasmanian identity maintained once these people arrived in New Zealand. A few young men might band together temporarily, such as during a stint together on a large pastoral property, but when it came to the important business of getting on in life they operated for themselves or within their immediate family groups.<sup>1003</sup> The lawyer brothers William, Harry and Albert PITT were a case in point. They practised as individuals with their own law firms while also choosing to work the same broad area in and around Westport, Nelson and Blenheim. The PITTs maintained some sense of togetherness as a family<sup>1004</sup> but not necessarily as

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<sup>1001</sup> D Dudfield (ed.), *Twenty Months in Southland 1867-69: An early account of Southland's people, settlements and landscape*, by "A. Tasmanian", (Invercargill, Southland Museum, 2010).

<sup>1002</sup> Obituary. *Mercury*, 30 November 1906, p. 8.

<sup>1003</sup> The South Island 'crew stereotype' of male colonial experience, as developed by the Tasmanian-born GB Lancaster in her New Zealand novels, was not a factor in the lives of most of these middle-class Tasmanians. For the Groom cousins and the Stronach brothers the pastoral experience was described in family reminiscences as a temporary one. For this reading of GB Lancaster see, L Wevers, 'The Short Story', and T Sturm, 'Popular Fiction' in T Sturm (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, 1991, 211-13, and 501-5, cited in J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 436.

<sup>1004</sup> For example, Harry Pitt was interred in the burial plot of his brother William's wife at Westport. [www.tribalpages.com/family-tree/inglisclan/95/396/Harry-Pitt-Family](http://www.tribalpages.com/family-tree/inglisclan/95/396/Harry-Pitt-Family)



Tasmanians, and there is no evidence that they made any special effort to congregate with other Tasmanians. While Tasmanian family members may have kept in touch with each other, as they would have done anywhere, and while there was no banding together of Tasmanians, there is evidence that connections between Tasmanians were maintained on other levels. These occurred as a matter of course during their business dealings, their religious affiliations and other social activities within New Zealand.

Interconnectedness is one thing, but dependence is another. It should not be assumed that individual middle-class Tasmanians were necessarily mutually dependent on each other in New Zealand. While members of The Reverend DRAKE's English-Tasmanian flock may have 'followed' him to Invercargill (chapter 4) they would not have expected any particular benefit from DRAKE for so doing. They would have followed because Southland at that time appeared a better prospect than Tasmania. In the same vein John Hamilton may have provided his friend with the job which gave George Stanton Crouch the security he required to set out for Invercargill with a young family, but this was because Hamilton was in need of a trustworthy clerk.<sup>1005</sup> Alexander CLERKE and Charles Stammers BUTTON were likewise able to provide passage on chartered vessels to Southland for a range of people, some of whom were friends and others employees. This was not altruism *per se* but a case of 'blessing "him that gives and him that takes"'.<sup>1006</sup> While it is not known whether friends like DRAKE and Henry ADAMS actually paid their own fares to New Zealand, it is known that their respective benefactors, BUTTON and CLERKE, were foremost men of business. Everyone would have benefitted whatever the arrangement. On arrival in Invercargill DRAKE set about establishing a congregation and provided BUTTON, his family and his workmen with the religious comforts they had known at home. It is also probable that CLERKE took advantage of Henry ADAMS' skills.<sup>1007</sup> CLERKE needed men

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<sup>1005</sup> GS Crouch, *Reminiscences of G. S. Crouch*, (Hobart, [self-published], 1912), p. 17.

<sup>1006</sup> Taken from Fenton's description of Alexander Clerke. J Fenton, *Bushlife in Tasmania*, (London, 1891; facsimile edition, Launceston, Regal Press, n.d.), p. 99.

<sup>1007</sup> For example, in Tasmania Henry Adams was referred to as organising (including handling payment) a gang of men to work on the thrashing [sic] machine: various dates, including 13 April 1857. 'Mountford Day Book' (ms), 1 April 1852-19 January 1862, QVMAG,

with agricultural and building knowledge to assist his sons in the development of the family's Southland property investments.

Classical-style direct sponsorship was not a feature of Tasmanians moving to New Zealand; by which is meant the patronage bestowed by a wealthier better-placed person on a dependent of lower social rank. It was the less formal sponsorship of the mutually beneficial kind that was a feature of middle-class movement during the 1850s and early 1860s, very similar to the support provided within families. Wealthy pastoralist investors like RQ Kermode and George Moore have been credited with importing 'conditional pardon' workmen to New Zealand along with their cargoes of sheep, but this was not all.<sup>1008</sup> More importantly, they also imported young middle-class Tasmanian men with good educations and agricultural experience who accompanied their flocks and then remained in New Zealand to manage their pastoral leases. These men were personally known to Kermode and Moore and, like Francis PITT, were also sometimes related to them and as such were integral to the network of interconnectedness that stretched between Tasmania and New Zealand.

A particularly interesting question relating to Tasmania-New Zealand migration is the issue of original intent. That is, whether middle-class Tasmanians originally went to New Zealand intending to stay? While this is difficult to ascertain, it is interesting that there is no evidence that anyone from this group actually stated an intention to migrate permanently to New Zealand. Obviously motivations and circumstances are subject to change and what might have started as a sojourn or a 'shift' subsequently became instead the more permanent act of migration. What can be extrapolated from the letters and reminiscences is that the Tasmanian middle class went to New Zealand primarily as 'shifters' who hoped to improve their lot and most probably also intended to return home. Instead the majority (after some peregrinations) settled in New Zealand. It made no difference whether they had arrived in New Zealand before or after the gold rushes of the 1860s, nor whether they arrived

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QVM2003.MS.0020. Henry Adams is also reported as 'repairing chimney of Toll House' (entry for 21 July 1860).

<sup>1008</sup> *Star*, 20 June 1903, p. 4.

with funds or without, their actions in deciding to stay were consistent across the entirety of this group.

This consistency also raises the question of whether it was actually necessary for any of these people to have defined their intentions in advance. They were not travelling halfway around the world at a distance and expense that would prohibit only the very successful of the British migrants from returning Home. Instead, Tasmanians were travelling locally between two small colonies which were days rather than weeks apart and any final decision-making could be kept fluid while one waited to see what would eventuate. Belich is perhaps closest to the Tasmanian reality when he writes of cross-Tasman movement as being 'more akin to internal rather than external migration'.<sup>1009</sup> For this group Belich's contention can be proven by omission – their letters and reminiscences show that these Tasmanians wrote no differently about 'going down' to Southland and Otago than of going to Victoria or Queensland.<sup>1010</sup>

On the whole these middle-class Tasmanians, even those with a Tasmanian-born wife, settled in New Zealand. This was in large part because they quickly became part of the middle-class backbone of the towns and cities in which they found themselves. They maintained a strong involvement in their new communities and most of them were also successful in their chosen professions. Only one amongst their number, Harry PITT, was criminally reprehensible – a very small failure rate from a total of 79 family groups mentioned in the letters of Eliza ADAMS.

It can be argued that their success at becoming solid citizens in New Zealand is what has led to the invisibility of Tasmanians within New Zealand historiography. These people had no need to make an issue of having once been Tasmanian. They went to a new country and got on with things and in the process became recognised as New Zealand 'pioneers'. Their children and grandchildren were New Zealanders and for that mid-nineteenth century group

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<sup>1009</sup> J Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1996), p. 317.

<sup>1010</sup> Eliza Adams to Kate Clerke, 27 October [1864], QVMAG, CHS47, 2/42.

of Tasmanians there was little incentive to look back. Much of their Tasmanian context was also lost by the mere fact of their moving to New Zealand. For example, their obituaries did not always state where they came from and even when they did, much was left out. In his New Zealand obituary Thomas Tayspill Dowling lost the recognition that he was once a part of Launceston's socially and politically prominent Dowling family. He had become a locally-respected New Zealand farmer, a self-made man, which was an achievement in itself, and obviously his New Zealand family had no regrets about the loss of the second-hand prominence to which he would have been entitled had he remained in Tasmania.

### The Arnold legacy

Arnold's work on the continual movement between Australia and New Zealand during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century contains a great deal which resonates with this study of the earlier period, despite the additional limitation that this research group comprised only people from the middle class. First among Arnold's concepts for these cross-Tasman movements are the phrases 'among friends', 'invisibility' and the 'perennial interchange'. Also encapsulated in Arnold's *oeuvre* is the belief that a sizeable proportion of Australians travelling to New Zealand during the nineteenth century were also attempting to escape from a less than salubrious past.

It is clear from the preceding chapters that when applied to mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians, Arnold's concepts divide into two groups. The division falls between those concepts which can be applied to Tasmanians and those which require some modification before they fit comfortably with the Tasmanian experience. Hence this division falls unequally between 'among friends', 'invisibility' and the 'perennial interchange' on the one hand, and 'discarding one's past' on the other.

'Among friends', 'invisibility' and the 'perennial interchange' have been discussed above, and these concepts resonate in some form or another with the findings of this research project. It was Arnold's belief that Australians had something to escape from which does not sit so well with the findings of this

study. These middle-class Tasmanians of the 1850s and 1860s would not have recognised themselves in Arnold's definition of Australians as 'shady neighbours of doubtful origins'.<sup>1011</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century Tasmanians believed they were putting their penal settlement past behind them. Moreover, for the 'arrived free' middle class in Tasmania, the convict system could be kept separate from the world they created for their children. It was no different for middle-class ex-convicts. Even though they might have suffered the occasional gibe, their success and re-acquired respectability meant that their obituaries could avoid mentioning their method of arrival in the colony. Such omissions reinvented the family as 'early settlers' and their grandchildren need never know what had gone before.<sup>1012</sup> For the generation of middle-class Tasmanians coming of age in the 1850s and 1860s there was no stigma to answer.

### Family history sources and methodology

In 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920' Arnold discussed his belief that by the twentieth century Australians and New Zealanders 'certainly seemed to have become an estranged family'.<sup>1013</sup> Estranged in part because, as Arnold put it, 'New Zealanders have always had a strong awareness of their Old World origins, but there has not been the same pride and awareness where Australian links were concerned'.<sup>1014</sup> Had he still been alive in the twenty-first century Arnold would have seen this family 'speaking' to each other again, at least within the family history context.

This is borne out by the ease with which letters and reminiscences have been obtained by this researcher, in both places. As middle-class individuals these nineteenth century Tasmanians were fortunately literate and, like Thomas GROOM and Jane Eliza Perkins and others, they responded to requests from

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<sup>1011</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 2.

<sup>1012</sup> For example, the obituary of Joseph Barrett. *Launceston Examiner*, 30 March 1865, p. 4. See also the obituary of this son, Abraham Barrett. *Launceston Examiner*, 27 October 1899, p. 3.

<sup>1013</sup> R Arnold, 'Family or Strangers? Trans-Tasman Migrants, 1870-1920', *Australia-New Zealand: aspects of a relationship: proceedings of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington*, September 1991, p. 3.

<sup>1014</sup> R Arnold, 'Dynamics of the Invisible: On the Trail of New Zealand's Trans-Tasman Influx, 1900-1908' in AJ Jones (compiler), *Under the Southern Cross*, (Hamilton, 1983), p. 70.

their children and grandchildren to write down their 'pioneer' experiences. These literate individuals in turn produced middle-class descendants who saw the writings of their forebears as important within the colonial histories of their countries and therefore worth depositing in archives and museums.

While reminiscences, family history testimony and even the immediacy of letters, cannot always be taken at face value, there is still a truth to them – something of the quality of the time which contributes to our wider understanding of the past. By synthesising this material into an extended family history, teasing out patterns of behaviour, and then testing these against recognised concepts such as the 'perennial interchange', this thesis demonstrates that within the historical record there is a place for qualitative people-based research of the family history type.

In fact, this thesis and the conclusions it has drawn would not have been possible without its use of family history research methodology. The writings of individuals and those who knew them, coupled with an exploration of the myriad connections afforded by their everyday lives, provide a rich canvas for the historian to interpret their motivations and subsequent activities. Indeed, because there is no relevant statistical data available for examining such groups within groups, the extended family history approach is currently the only way to explore such questions. Only through this methodology has it been possible to interpret and include the deeper personal causes of migration, as well as to extend the migrational experience as one of ongoing internal movement within New Zealand and multiple cross-Tasman voyages continuing over a lifetime.

This approach also humanises politics, depressions and gold rushes, those events which acted as catalysts for the movement of people away from their homes. The use of family history methodology does not replace the need for data of the type extracted from official records, instead it augments the more official version of cross-Tasman migration. The family history approach used to research this thesis has shown that while the Tasmania-New Zealand story does follow much that is inherent to the wider history of Australia-New Zealand

migration, a different emphasis must now be placed on specific aspects of this story.

Any negatives in utilising a family history approach are in the area of statistical analysis. These include the scale of the research sample and the weighting of data. This group of middle-class Tasmanians provided a relatively small sample and if the information about their lives had been handled in a purely quantitative manner it would not have been accepted as definitive. However, for purely qualitative research which is attempting to offer an interpretation rather than a definition, this method demonstrates that it is still possible to describe patterns of activity and motivation despite the sample group being relatively small and narrow. It is also worth noting that the weighting of data cannot be controlled in the same way as in a tabulated set of data fields. In this thesis, those people who wrote the most about themselves, or who had the most written about them, could not help but achieve the greater prominence. These more detailed personal histories may prove in future to have skewed the interpretations of this thesis, but that is the nature of interpretive history and a risk this researcher has chosen to accept. Only as more work of this type is attempted and more biographical data is added to the record of the Australia-New Zealand story, will historians come closer to a final interpretation of the true nature of cross-Tasman migration.

It has always been an intention of this project that in future mid-nineteenth century middle-class Tasmanians will receive greater recognition from historians for their contribution to New Zealand society. In turn, middle-class Australian migrants to New Zealand should also benefit from this recognition. Their numbers may not have been as great as other migrant groups, but their value was immeasurable. After all, these well-educated, morally upright, native-born and colonially-experienced young men and woman went on to assist in developing the social and political heart of the new townships being formed in New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century.

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